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The Royal North Gloucester

J. Maxwell Steele-Graves (Sir.)

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"CHARGE WITH CARTRIDGE."

Militia-man temp. George II. From a woodcut in the British Museum Library.

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The Royal North Gloucester;

BEING NOTES FROM THE

REGIMENTAL ORDERS AND CORRESPONDENCE

OF THE

ROYAL NORTH GLOUCESTER MILITIA,

WITH INTRODUCTORY CHAPTERS.

(FOUNDED UPON AN ACCOUNT OF THE REGIMENT COMMENCED BY THE LATE SIR J. MAXWELL STEELE-GRAVES, BART.)

COMPILED BY

WILFRED JOSEPH CRIPPS, ESQ.,

BARRISTER-AT-LAW,

CAPTAIN IN THE REGIMENT.

Falstaff. . . . . . .Gentlemen, have you
Provided me here half-a-dozen sufficient men?
Shallow. Marry, we have, Sir. Will you sit?

SHAKSPEARE, King Henry IV., Part 2.

LONDON:

Printed for the Compiler

BY NICHOLS AND SONS, 25, PARLIAMENT STREET.

1875.

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TO

THE EARL OF DUCIE,

HER MAJESTY'S LIEUTENANT FOR THE COUNTY OF GLOUCESTER,

AND TO

THE OFFICERS OF THE ROYAL NORTH GLOUCESTER MILITIA,

AN ACCOUNT OF THAT REGIMENT

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Page 110, line 6, for "aggrandisement" read "aggrandizement"—
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PREFACE.

It might tax the skill of a practised writer to render details for the most part local and personal of any interest to the general reader: it is hoped however that these notes may be acceptable to the narrower circle of those who are already interested in the Royal North Gloucester regiment and the county in which it is raised, notwithstanding any lack of art in such of the following pages as have been written by a less able hand than that which originally undertook the task.

An account of the regiment (in which he served for twenty years) had been commenced by the late Sir J. Maxwell Steele-Graves, bart., but was unfortunately far from finished at his lamented death. Its completed portion, much amplified but not otherwise altered, forms the foundation of the earlier half of the sketch now carried down by the compiler of these pages, at the request of his brother officers, to the time when the course of army re-organization under Mr. Cardwell, as Secretary of State for War, terminated the ancient constitution of the militia as a county force levied by county authorities.

The country was then divided for all military purposes into territorial districts and sub-districts; the control of

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the militia was vested in the Government of the day; its officers ceased to hold their commissions from the Lords-Lieutenants of their counties; and their regiments, coupled in pairs and brigaded with two corresponding regiments of the line, were placed under the immediate command of the military authorities of the district in which their recruiting grounds happen to be included.

The inauguration of this new military era in 1872 makes the following notice of the Royal North Gloucester, brought to that year, a sketch of its entire history under the old and time-honoured *régime*.

The introductory chapters attempt to supply as much legal and historical information as may be necessary to lead up to the establishment of the English militia, especially that of the county of Gloucester, in its present comparatively modern shape, and an Appendix will be found to furnish a complete list of the officers of the Royal North Gloucester regiment since 1852, with a reprint of some selected lists relating to the earlier times of which no consecutive record has been preserved.

Whilst these pages were in the press, an account of a remarkable muster of the citizens of London in 1539 from Wriothesley's Chronicle, which has been selected for publication by the Camden Society as one of its volumes for 1875, was most kindly contributed by its editor W. D. Hamilton, esq. So interesting and picturesque is it, that, too late for insertion in its proper place, it has gratefully been made use of in a second Appendix, which also con-

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tains a quaint extract from Leland's Itinerary on the building of the great East Gloucestershire Castle of Sudeley, the residence of a succession of the earliest lieutenants of the county.

It has been impossible to avoid sometimes digressing from the main line of the narrative to comment upon the inferences to which the facts of militia history seem to point. For this the present writer is alone responsible. The proper relation of the militia to the regular army has been a subject of discussion ever since the two services have existed side by side; and the vexed questions that have from time to time arisen, and that are still as unsettled as ever, are those with which militia history is concerned throughout its whole length. Almost every disputed point has been amply illustrated in turn by facts, which, in this way, give a value even to the uneventful records of a mere militia regiment.

In conclusion, it is the agreeable duty of the compiler to offer his best thanks to those who have helped him in various ways, particularly to his brother officers, and to the owners and custodians respectively of many private and public records of local or general interest; above all he must acknowledge the assistance he has derived from the use of the valued MS. notice placed at the disposal of the regiment, as a contribution to its history, by the kindness of Lady Steele-Graves.

He must not forget to add the cordial thanks due to both A. Kingston, esq., and W. D. Selby, esq., of the Public

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Record Office, for the courtesy which rendered doubly valuable the access permitted him by the Secretary of State to the stores of information contained in the official correspondence of the last century relating to the militia.

Cirencester,
December, 1874.

Materials for this volume have been derived from—

The Home Office Records: viz.
- Internal Defence, 1803-1813.
- Militia (Miscellaneous).

The War Office Records: viz.
- Militia Muster-Rolls and Pay-Lists.
- Militia Monthly Returns.
- Marching Order Books.

The Treasury Records: viz.
- Warrant Books.
- Establishment Books.
- Minute Books.

The State Papers (Domestic Series).

The Journals of the House of Commons.

[All the above are to be found at the Public Record Office.]

Atkyns's Ancient and Present State of Gloucestershire.

Rudder's History of Gloucestershire.

The Archives of the City of Gloucester.

Bibliotheca Glocestriensis.

The Annual Register.

The Gentleman's Magazine.

Hansard's Debates.

Sir Bernard Burke's Genealogical Works.

&c. &c. &c.

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THE ROYAL

NORTH GLOUCESTER.

CHAPTER I.

The English Militia; Notes of its early history, and General Legislation upon it to 1757.

THE origin of the English Militia, using that term to denote a more or less trained national force, available whenever required for home defence, but not kept permanently embodied, may be looked for in Anglo-Saxon times. Such a force has certainly existed in one shape or another nearly a thousand years; for it must not be forgotten that a settled national military system was established by Alfred the Great, who is said to have made all his subjects soldiers. For present purposes, however, this early trace is an historical fact and nothing more; little but the fame of that king's celebrated regulations now remains; and it would be as difficult to define precisely the position of the dukes or heretochs who were the leaders in war elected by the people themselves as to estimate the exact historical value of the Saxon Chronicle, or of the statements of Asser.* It is only clear that King Alfred had a large force always ready to meet his foes, and fairly divided amongst 900.

* Asser Bishop of Sherborne, or according to others of St. David's, the friend and chronicler of King Alfred, died 910.

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1066. his subjects the burden of maintaining it. It is not until the period in which the military power of the nation depended upon land-tenures under the feudal system that its defensive forces first become the subject of distinct record. At that time the lands in the kingdom were divided into "knights' fees," for each of which a knight or soldier was bound to attend the King in his wars for forty days in the year. By these means the sovereign could command the services of an army of some 60,000 men, ready armed and equipped for service wherever occasion required, and without any further expense; but, besides and beyond this liability of the great, there was hardly any exemption from service for purposes of domestic defence against insurrection or invasion. The most powerful and the smallest landholder were alike called upon to aid in the defence of the country if the necessity arose. In early times the duty of assembling and inspecting, and frequently of leading, the levies devolved upon the sheriffs, who were empowered to summon the *posse comitatûs* for the defence of their counties against the King's enemies, for keeping the peace, and pursuing felons; all persons above fifteen years old and under the degree of a peer being bound to attend them if required for these purposes.

There are many picturesque and quaint accounts of these levies, which were civil rather than military, and appear to have been made available for every description of duty. In the old English ballads the sheriff and his forces are repeatedly mentioned as engaged in the pursuit of outlaws; and later—to cross the border for an illustration—there is nothing more graphic as a picture of seventeenth-century life than Sir Walter Scott's description of the "Wappenschaw," or in modern phrase Scotch militia levy and inspection under the Sheriff of Lanark, in *Old Mortality*.*

* Waverley Novels, Old Mortality, chaps. i. ii.

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Sooth to say, were all their gatherings concluded in as brave a style as in days when the muster and military exercise of the morning were but preliminary to the "Festival of the Popinjay" in the afternoon, the ancestors of our Scottish brethren at all events had not much cause to complain of the service rendered so agreeable by the authorities responsible for these annual assemblies. 1181.

The Assize of Arms enacted in 1181, the 27th year of Henry II., is the earliest precise legislation upon domestic military affairs. By this it was ordained that all free-holders and burgesses should, under divers penalties, provide themselves with both offensive weapons and defensive armour according to their substance. The possession of a knight's fee made it imperative upon its owner to have in readiness a coat of mail, a helmet, shield, and lance, and he was bound to find such a suit for each knight's fee he possessed. Every free layman owning effects, or rents, of the value of sixteen marks, was bound to provide armour of the same description. Those whose property was not above ten marks' value were excused for a slighter coat of mail, an iron skull-cap, and a lance. The equipment of burgesses was limited to an iron cap, a lance, and a leathern or quilted coat. It was contrary to law for any man to pawn or lend his armour or weapons; and it was specially provided that no lord could take them from his vassal by forfeiture, gift, security, or under any pretence whatever. In short, every man according to his estate and degree was bound to provide a determinate quantity of arms for the defence of the country, and in time of need to bear arms himself, or procure vicarious service according to his station, age, and wealth. And, be it remarked, this is the only true and real principle of a national defensive force.

About a century later the Statute of Winchester, under

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1285. Edward I.* made similar but more extended provisions to those of the Assize of Arms, obliging every man between "xv years of age and lx years to be assessed and sworn to armour according to the quantity of their lands and goods; that is to wit, from xv pounds lands and goods xl marks an hauberke, a breast-plate of iron, a sword, a knife, a horse;" the next class with 10*l.* lands and 20 marks goods provided the same as the last, omitting the horse; and the statute proceeds through other less wealthy classes down to "all that may," who were to have bows and arrows; all being required to produce their arms at a view twice a year before the constables of the hundreds, who were to "present" defaulters. This Statute of Winton was often enforced, and specially often during the warlike reign of Edward III., in whose time, and afterwards, even the clergy were required by proclamation to array and arm themselves for the defence of the kingdom, although subsequently personal service ceased to be demanded of them, and instead of it pecuniary aids were exacted towards defraying the expenses of men and arms.

Much curious and interesting information as to such expenses is to be found in parochial accounts of the sixteenth century, gleanings from some of which have been printed of late years. In those for instance of the parish of Ashburton† for the middle of that century there are numerous items relating to military service, such as the following: in 1545-6,

"xxij^{s} ij^{d} for clothes for iiij 'shouldyers'
xij^{s} iiij^{d} for swords and daggers
ix^{s} iiij^{d} to the said 'shouldyers' in money."

* 13 Edward I. Statute of Winchester, c. 6.

† "Extracts from the Parish Accounts of Ashburton," published anonymously, 1870.

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Or again in 1557-8: 1553.

"xx^{d} for a sheff of arrows (xxiv in number)
xxiiij^{s} for cloth for the sawdyers cotts (coats)
ij^{d} for bow stryngs."

There is also a note that the churchwardens of this parish had in charge "ix sauldyers cote, iiij saletts (helmets), iiij payr of splynts, iiij bills." Great men kept formidable stores of arms and armour in their houses, far more than the laws required, and enough to be dangerous in cases of doubtful allegiance. It is not wonderful that at the time of Sir Thomas Wyatt's rebellion in 1553 the armoury of such a man as Sir Thomas Cawarden, of Blechingly, in Surrey, who could have clad some 500 men in complete armour, and armed them too, was seized on some mistrust of his adherence to Queen Mary; and his is no exceptional case, though his weapons and armour amounted, it is said in one of the Loseley manuscripts, to eighteen wagon-loads.

The next enactments to be mentioned bring us to the reign of Philip and Mary, when the altered circumstances of the day as regarded arms and equipments necessitated the modification of earlier laws. By an Act of that reign * the number of horses, arms, and furniture was fixed which each person according to the extent of his property was bound to provide. A man of 1,000*l.* a year was obliged to maintain at his own charge six horses fit for demi-lances, of which three at least were to be furnished with sufficient harness steel saddles and weapons proper for the demi-lances, and ten horses fit for light horsemen, with furniture and weapons conforming. He was also obliged to provide 40 corslets, 50 "almayne revets," † or instead of them 40 coats of plate corslets, or brigandines, 40 pikes,

* 4 and 5 Philip and Mary, c. 2.

† A light description of armour originally used in Germany, whence Henry VIII. imported armourers.

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1572. 30 long bows, 30 sheafs of arrows, 30 steel caps or sculls, 20 black bills or halberts, 20 harquebusses, and 20 morions or sallets. A man of a thousand marks of stock was rated equal to one of 200*l.* a year. There is no class mentioned or rated above a thousand pounds a year.

The "Retinue Rolls," many of which are preserved at the Record Office, are returns of the names and equipments of the retainers following great lords in feudal times into the field for service; but, marking the gradual relaxation of the feudal system, these give place in the reign of Henry VIII. to "County Muster Rolls,"* in which also the State papers abound. Throughout the Tudor reigns, down to the time of Queen Elizabeth, there had been issued "Commissions of Array," under which trusted officers, the form of whose commissions had been settled as early as the reign of Henry IV., were sent down into the counties to "array" the inhabitants; and these appear to have been the first attempts to form a standing militia.

Again, let us turn for illustrations to contemporary accounts, and see how the parish of Ashburton in 1572–3 paid "iiij^{d} for the copys of the commyssion from the queen's commyssioners." Whilst three years before that, in 1569–70, "calyvers† and corseletts" cost the church-

* The derivation of the word "muster" may be seen from headings of two such Rolls in the collection of the late Sir Thomas Phillipps, in Latin and French respectively:—

"Monstratio" hominum ad arma capta..... Temp. Henry V.

"Monstres" prises a Evreux..... 7 Henry V.

† The caliver was of a larger bore or "calibre" than the arquebus, but a lighter weapon than the musket or hagbut, which was so called from a kind of hook carried with it to form a rest for the marksman. "Put me a 'caliver' into Wart's hands," says Falstaff. Shakespeare, King Henry IV. Part ii. Act 3, Scene 2.

See also Sir John Smyth's treatise, mentioned later in this chapter. "Calivers also (as they terme them), being of a greater length and weight of bullett and more 'ranforced' than harquebuses, and therefore a great deal heavyer . . . ."

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wardens iiij^{li} xij^{s} iiij^{d}; and xx^{s} was paid for "mostryng the soldiers" for our lady the Queen in 1570–1. 1577.

We find the parish of Dartington * paying in 1577 xviij^{d} for a "pownd of gownpowder;" and "to the Justiss to the treyning of the soldiers at Whetsintud vij^{s} viij^{d};" and in 1583, the following:—

"It^{m} p^{d} to the constables dener when the muster was at Totnes for Ireland, xij^{d}.

"It^{m} p^{d} for a nue corslett for the paryshe xxxiij^{s} iiij^{d}.

"It^{m} p^{d} for the scowerying of mourrynge (morion) xiij^{d}, and tow newe strapes for hym."

The rates of daily pay may be found in the accounts of this parish for 1595:—

"It^{m} p^{d} to the treyned soldiers when they treyned at Ratteric before Mr. Semers, Levetenant, for 12 of them 8^{d} a daye for 2 days in February, xvj^{d};" and in the next year "It^{m} p^{d} unto the xij trened soldiers in part of there service upon the bent of comynge of the Spanyards x^{d} p^{r} day, x^{l} viij^{s}."

But in 1585 and the following years, under the pressure of the alarm occasioned by the threatened invasion of England by the Spaniards, the Privy Council is found issuing "commissions of lieutenancy," and organising forces on a more modern plan than ever before. A letter dated November 12, 1585, and directed by the Council to the Lieutenants of the Shires, required them at the Queen's desire to "consider the instructions that had been sent them for the choice and training of select bands for the defence of Her Majesty's person," and to certify when everything should be in readiness, particularly the names of the principal gentlemen who would have the command of them; and certificates were returned shortly afterwards by the Lords-Lieutenant giving not only the

* The British Magazine, vol. vi.

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1603. numbers of the men put in readiness in obedience to these requisitions, but, in some cases, of all the able-bodied men within their shires. The counties were required also to provide the ammunition necessary for the exercise of these trained bands.

In the very first year of James I. the Statutes of Armour were repealed * and the militia was remodelled, the quotas being more accurately apportioned to districts; but the Acts passed in this and the subsequent reign for its better regulation have now so lost their importance and even interest that they need no special mention.

It must not be forgotten, that at this time there was no standing army whatever. James I. had not so much as even a regiment of guards. The militia, amounting to 160,000 men was the sole defence of the kingdom, and this force was raised by the inhabitants of the counties in proportion to their estates. Corporations, and parishes holding property as such, were equally liable with individuals, and, as before, in various "churchwardens' accounts" of this reign are to be found entries of charges incurred for cleaning and renewing "the armor," and for the pay of men to wear it at the training.† The force was, according to all accounts, in a state of admirable order and discipline. The London trained bands led the way, procuring skilled foreign officers to drill their men, and all the English counties emulated the example thus set them, and spared no pains to keep up a well-appointed militia. Stowe says, that even the children formed themselves into

* 1 Jac. I. c. 25.

† From the Churchwardens' accounts of the parish of St. Peter's-in-the-East at Oxford :—

"1616-17. Item for armeinge the Pike and mendinge the coslett 1*s.* 0*d.*
Item to John Knowles for carringe the armor to Wately at the Trayneinge . . . 0*s.* 8*d.*"
Oxford Arch. and Hist. Society's Reports.

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companies, chose officers, and mimicked the military drill which they had every day before their eyes. 1632.

It is amusing to see the Lord Mayor in 1632 warned by the Lords of the Council to have the trained bands exercised as often as convenient upon holidays or otherwise, "when commonly they spend their time in drinking and unlawful exercises." A lively picture of the way in which men and arms were provided by the gentry in the time of Charles I. may be taken from the life of Anthony à Wood.* On the King's proclamation in 1642 for the suppression of the rebellion, the deputy Vice-Chancellor at Oxford seems to have acted somewhat as a Deputy-Lieutenant, and called before him into the schools "all the privileged men's armes;" many scholars also appeared; and Mr. Wood's father was found to possess "the armour or furniture for one man, viz.: a helmet, a back and breast-piece, a pyke, and musquet, and other appurtenances, and the eldest of his men-servants (for he had then three at least), named Thomas Burnham, did appeare in those armes, and much ado there was to keep Thomas the eldest son, then a student of Christ Church and of about eighteen years of age, from putting on the said armour and training among the scholars."

It should here be said, that there was probably at this time but little armour in the possession of the lieges compared to what it had been usual to keep before the repeal of the Statutes of Armour. Since that date the demand for armour had so decreased, that even before the end of the reign of James I. the trade of armour-making in London became almost extinct; a petition to Parliament stating, that, from thirty-five in the time of Queen Elizabeth, the number of artificers of arms had

* Athenæ Oxonienses. Edition published by Ecclesiastical History Society, vol. i.

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1642. dwindled to five, with but "one servant" to each. But their repeal had other more important effects. It had opened the question of the rights of the Crown; and the continued exercise of the old powers of the Sovereign by Charles I., notwithstanding such repeal, resulted in the famous militia question. Every schoolboy knows that the dispute between Charles I. and the Parliament as to the control and management of the militia, and the measures taken by the Parliament with a view to obtaining that control for itself, led almost directly to the chain of events by which the King lost his crown and his life. Nor had this jealousy died out in the reign of Charles II. when the Parliament, very needlessly it would seem, thought it necessary to prevent the King keeping the militia under arms for more than fourteen days during the year.

But when at the Restoration military tenures were abolished,* and the vexed question of the control of the force was set at rest by the Act of 13 Charles II. chap. 6, which declared that the command of the militia was solely vested in the Crown, it became necessary to reconstitute the militia, to ascertain and define its position and liabilities, and to place the whole defensive system of the realm on an organized footing. With this object much legislation took place, and amongst the various enactments, and perhaps the most important of them, was an Act 13 and 14 Charles II. chap. 3, by which every person having a revenue of 500*l.* per annum or an estate in goods or money of 6,000*l.* was liable to provide a horse, a horseman, and proper arms. A yearly income of 50*l.*, or an estate in money or goods, except stock upon the ground, of 600*l.*, obliged its owner to find a foot-soldier and his arms, and so in proportion; but the training was limited to two days at a time four times a year for single

* Tenure in chivalry was abolished 12 Car. II. c. 24.

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companies, whilst by regiments they were to be assembled only once a year. Each musqueteer was to bring half a pound of powder at the charge of the person providing him, and the statute details the required armour, from that of a fully equipped horseman down to the man clad only in a head and breast-piece and bearing a 16-foot ash pike and a sword. 1662.

No long time after this settlement the militia was mustered in the fear of a combined Dutch and French invasion; and later in the same year that of the home counties of Middlesex, Surrey, and Herts, was drawn together for prevention of "the unhappy consequences of the disturbance of peace and quiet in consequence of the hand of God being laid on the City by the raging fire." This was of course in September 1666, but only three days afterwards they were disbanded, with the thanks of the government for "their ready concurrence."

As to the mode in which this statute was put into practical effect, see how John Evelyn notes in his diary for June 18, 1685, that he received a warrant on that day, the occasion being the landing of Monmouth, "to send out a horse with 12 days' provision." The militia force on that emergency did effective service; but as time went on it does not seem to have been even as well disciplined or reliable as the old trained bands of pre-revolution days. In February, 1695, the Lords of the Council, in view "of the intended invasion from France and the horrid conspiracy against his Ma^{ties} life" [which must refer to the conspiracy against the life of William III. commonly known as the "Assassination Plot"] raised the militia, and caused "all horses belonging to papists and other persons disaffected to the Government, or who refused to take the oaths, to be seized."

We must leave the poet to take the place of the

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1700. historian, indulging meanwhile in the hope that with poetic licence truth may have been somewhat sacrificed to the exigencies of rhyme—

> The country rings around with loud alarms,
> And raw in fields the rude militia swarms;
> Mouths without hands: maintain'd at vast expense,
> In peace a charge, in war a weak defence;
> Stout once a month they march, a blustering band,
> And ever, but in times of need, at hand.*

Dryden's well-known but uncomplimentary picture, be it taken from whence it may, must represent the militia of exactly this period, as it is found in one of his latest pieces.

There is no doubt however that a good foundation of truth underlies the poet's lines. The force was not easily raised, and probably went from bad to worse until about the time of the Seven Years' War, which commenced in 1756. A little book entitled "The Militiaman,"† from which the frontispiece to this volume, and the portrait of an intelligent countryman at "Take Care," have been taken, gives an account of the exercises performed at their musters. Quaintly beginning with the above cautionary word, it continues "On the giving of this command there must be a profound silence observed through the whole battalion, nor must any of the soldiers make any motion with their heads, bodies, hands, or feet, but such as are required for the performance of the following words of command." Then follow "necessary rules for both officers and soldiers, and an explanation of the manual exercise." But good instruction was to no purpose, for a note which

* Dryden. Cymon and Iphigenia, 400.

† In the library of the British Museum. It is undated, but considered to be of the year 1740.

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To face page 12.

"TAKE CARE."

Militia-man temp. George II. From a woodcut in the British Museum Library.

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speaks volumes may be found in the Order Book of the Coldstream Guards in 1745:— 1757.

"25 Oct. If the Militia are reviewed tomorrow by His Majesty the soldiers of the three regiments of Guards are to behave civilly, and not to laugh, or make any game of them."*

It is not therefore suprising that in the perilous days which ended the reign of George II. the urgent necessity of reforming so defective and ineffective a force led to legislation of an altogether more modern character.

"The Militia Act" of 30 George II.† coupled with an Act of the second year of George III. amending and explaining it, entirely repealed all previous provisions; and whereas up to this time property had been charged with the burthen of service, all persons between the ages of 18 and 50, without regard to their estate, were now made liable to be called on to bear arms; and the ballot was to determine upon which of the community such service was to be compulsory. The latter of these Acts altered the limit of liability from 50 to 45 years of age; a limit which in earlier days had been even more extensive, for all persons between the ages of 16, or even 15, and 60 had been called upon to bear arms and serve in the militia if necessity arose. For example, the City of London‡ had been ordered in 1635 to enrol all able men untrained between sixteen and sixty, and we may add in passing "to see that they be well affected in religion and take the oath of allegiance." Except on an extreme emergency, so wide a range could not be considered an advisable one, as it must have filled the ranks with boys and comparatively aged men.§ This

* From Mackinnon's History of that regiment.

† 30 George II. c. 25, and 2 George III. c. 20.

‡ City of London "Remembrancia," Index to vol. viii.

§ A practical reflection of Rudder, the county historian.

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1757. evil was now remedied. The officers of the force were to have a property qualification, county quotas were determined, the trainings appointed for two days in each of the summer months for separate companies, on which occasions the men were not to be taken from the immediate neighbourhood of their homes, and an annual assembly by regiments for a few days at Whitsuntide. And lastly, relaxing the early laws, by these regulations all peers of the realm, the clergy, the members of both Universities, with a few others, were entirely exempted from any kind of military service.

As it was under the provisions of these Acts, founded and based as they were upon the Act of Charles II., that the Gloucestershire Militia first took shape as regiments in the modern sense of the word, it will be proper to reserve the notice of later legislation until it from time to time affects the history of the North Gloucester regiment, here saying only that the "General Militia Act" of 1802,* to be specially mentioned in its place, is the foundation of our present system, and is cited in the commissions of the officers now serving in the force as the Act under which the powers of those commissions are exercised.

Before concluding these general remarks it must be added, that, notwithstanding elaborate legislation and precise arrangement, it may be doubted whether in the good old times the authorities, whether regal or noble, felt much scruple or used much ceremony when the ranks of fighting men had to be filled up. When men were wanted there was probably little choice left to the great majority. Soldiers were obtained by much the same process as has been employed up to a very recent date in manning our navy. Of this numerous indications may be found in old writers; but

* 42 Geo. III. c. 90.

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it was probably thought so much a matter of course as to attract but little notice. Shakespeare, who no doubt delineates pretty accurately the manners and habits of times not very far removed from his own, in more than one instance alludes to the mode in which levies were made. Take, for instance, Falstaff's soliloquy in "King Henry IV:"—* 1757.

I have misused the King's Press damnably. I have got, in exchange of an hundred and fifty soldiers, three hundred and odd pounds. I press me none but good householders, yeomen's sons: inquire me out contracted bachelors, such as had been asked twice on the banns; such a commodity of warm slaves, as had as lief hear the devil as a drum; such as fear the report of a caliver, worse than a struck fowl or a hurt wild duck. I pressed me none but such toasts and butter, with hearts in their bellies no bigger than pins' heads, and they have bought out their services; and now my whole charge consists of ancients, corporals, lieutenants, gentlemen of companies, slaves as ragged as Lazarus in the painted cloth, where the glutton's dogs licked his sores: and such as indeed were never soldiers; but discarded unjust serving men, younger sons to younger brothers, revolted tapsters, and ostlers trade-fallen; the cankers of a calm world, and a long peace; ten times more dishonourably ragged than an old-faced ancient: and such have I to fill up the rooms of them that have bought out their services that you would think that I had a hundred and fifty tattered prodigals, lately come from swine-keeping, from eating draff and husks. A mad fellow met me on the way, and told me I had unloaded all the gibbets, and pressed the dead bodies. I'll not march through Coventry with them, that's flat.

Later on too, in the Second Part of the same play, there is the amusing scene of the recruits, Mouldy, Bull-calf, and their fellows, before Falstaff and Justice Shallow; †

* Shakspeare, King Henry IV. Pt. i. Act 4, Scene 2.

† Shakspeare, King Henry IV. Pt. ii. Act 3, Scene 2.

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1757. the latter, be it remembered, appropriately enough to our subject, being described as "a poor squire of the county of Gloucestershire, and one of the King's justices of the peace."

It only remains to be said, that some doubt exists as to the exact period at which the word "militia" first came into use as a military term. It is found in a curious MS. treatise in the library of the late Sir Thomas Phillipps, Bart., "composed by Sir John Smyth, knight, in 1589," apparently with the object of allaying the popular fear of the fire-arms of the Spaniards, and of demonstrating the undiminished superiority of English archery. Amongst other military suggestions Smyth says, "I wold wishe all y^{e} piques of England y^{t} are for y^{e} field to be reduced into 17 foote long by y^{e} rule w^{ch} ar two foote longer than the Spaniards doe use in y^{eir} milicia." In another passage the word again occurs, "I have heard of some of our ancient and most sufficient captaines that our English 'milicia' of ffootmen many yeeres past did consist of bands but of 100 to an ensigne." The word is also used by Lord Bacon in the same general sense of "military forces;" but as far as can be ascertained it was about the time of the reign of Charles I., or perhaps James I., that it became a term in common use. At all events, in the year 1641 a message was sent by the King to both Houses of Parliament in answer to their petition concerning "the militia." On April 28, 1642, the King refused to pass the bill for "the militia." Since then the word has been an accepted term descriptive of the defensive force of the country. The changes which have taken place in its organization and conditions have been of the most varied and even contradictory character; from being at one time a compulsory service, and that under somewhat stringent terms; at another almost a voluntary force; at

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a third it has become a kind of compromise between an independent service and a reserve for the regular army. But, if there is anything in a name, that at any rate has long remained unchanged; and the nation has as long depended for its first line of reserve upon the well-filled ranks of the "militia." 1757.

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CHAPTER II.

The Levies of Gloucestershire to 1757.

1543. OMITTING the levies of feudal times, raised for foreign service, and pressing often most hardly upon the resources of the county, the first distinct record relating to what may be more properly called the *militia* of the county of Gloucester, is a muster-roll for a portion of the shire, to be found at the Record Office, and probably one of the earliest of its kind, being dated 1543.* It is a certificate of the names and surnames of "men of armes" and men armed "mete for warre, as well archers as of other horsemen and fotemen," above the age of sixteen years, within all and singular the towns, hamlets, boroughs, socs, hamlets, and other places, liable to serve and provide arms in the hundred of Kiftsgate, "according to the statute done and surveyed before S^r^ John Briggs, knight,† and Richard Coton, at Wynchecombe, the xxv. and xxvi. days of September, and at Cheltenhm the last day of September, in the xxxiv. year of King Henry VIII."

This interesting return gives the names of the men by their parishes, commencing with Winchcomb, which sent seventy able-bodied archers and billmen, and other smaller

* State Papers (Domestic).

† This was the great Sir John Bruges, ancestor to the Dukes of Buckingham and Chandos, who as ward of Henry VIII. attended that monarch in France when Tournay was taken, and was knighted after the battle of the Spurs. He conducted the defence of Boulogne against the French King in person in 1549, and was in 1554 created Baron Chandos of Sudeley. He was father to Edmund Lord Chandos, and grandfather to Gyles Lord Chandos, presently mentioned.

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parishes in proportion.* The whole number for that parish liable to serve, or to furnish equipments, was ninety-two, and each man is described separately as "an archer on horseback furnysshed," or as commanded to furnish "a bilman," "a bowe and sheff of arroys," or "a pair of splynts." 1566.

The totals required of the Hundred of Kiftsgate, which may be compared with other returns of the same hundred in later days, as for instance 1610 (see page 29), were as follows:—

"Sm̄ of archers, clxxxvi.

"Sm̄ of bylmen, cccxxiii.

"Sm̄ of harnes for archers, xli.

"Sm̄ of harnes for bylmen, clxxiiii.

"Sm̄ of horsys, lx.

"Sm̄ of other ꝑcells of harnes, viz. of saletts, xlii. and of splynts, xxvi."

With this single and notable exception we come to about 1566, when an interesting series of levies of the reign of Elizabeth commence.† There was issued in that year a warrant to the sheriff and justices of the county to levy some forces for Ireland, no doubt to serve under Sir Henry Sydney against O'Neal and the Earl of Desmond, and another almost identical one in 1569. It may be remarked in passing that "the harquebusiers" of the shire, the word then occurring for the first time, were in 1565 ordered to be trained in the management of their weapons.

* It is a somewhat curious fact, which may be contrasted, though it cannot be usefully compared, with the above return, that in the present year 1874, under our voluntary enlistment system, there can only be found seven men in the ranks of the Royal North Gloucester regiment whose residence is at Winchcomb. But it must be remembered in the first place that under a general levy that town could probably supply as many men now as it did then; and also that in modern times the floating population of men without regular employment gravitates to centres such as Cheltenham, from which place the regiment draws not less than 300 men, or about three-eighths of its whole strength.

† State Papers (Domestic).

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1569. The certificates of Edmund Lord Chandos as Commissioner of Musters for the levies of 1569 and 1570, destined for service in Ireland and in the North, are amongst the best preserved of the returns of those days relating to Gloucestershire with which the Public Record Office is so richly stored, to the advantage of the historian. From the former may be gathered that the total number of able men in the county was 6,520, and they must have constituted a formidable contingent, for, adds the certificate, "the greatest part have been trayned by captaines and others of good skill appoynted for that p̃pse." The return for the latter year contains a complete money acccount of the cost of the levy, its clothing, and the like, in each of the hundreds of Kiftsgate, Cirencester, Berkeley, Bristol, and Gloucester City, from which may be taken some curious notes as to dress, for example that of the twenty-five men furnished by the "7 hundreds of Cirencester."

"It^{m} blue capps wth yalowe sylke rybands, and for sculls . . . . . xv^{s}

"It^{m} slopps of blewe clothe gardede with yallowe, and yallowe nether stockins to every one of them, x^{s} x^{d} . . . . . xiii^{li} x^{s} x^{d}

Again, in 1585, we find Sir Nicholas Poyntz, Anthony Hungerford,* sheriff, and the rest of the justices of the peace of Gloucestershire, making ready at Cirencester in the month of August a force of 300 men, to be sent to London under the command of Captain Baskerville.† It was probably destined to serve under the Earl of Leicester

* Sir N. Poyntz of Iron-Acton, co. Gloucester, was aged 21, 4 Mary, at his father's death, and high sheriff, 12 Elizabeth, 1569.

Anthony Hungerford of Down Ampney, co. Gloucester, died 1589.

† George Baskerville, of Tewkesbury, co. Gloucester, ancestor of the family of Mynors-Baskerville, of Clyro, co. Hereford, grandson of Sir Walter Baskerville of Erdisley, Sheriff of Hereford 9 Edward IV. who was created Knight of the Bath on the marriage of Prince Arthur in 1501.

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in the Netherlands: and it was nearly the last military levy returned by a sheriff. 1587.

In 1587, Gyles Lord Chandos * was required to send a thousand of the trained men to Wales for defence in case of invasion. This lord was now Lieutenant of Gloucestershire, a novel and probably purely military appointment; † and he was charged with the raising of very considerable county forces, amounting once to no less than 3,000 infantry, under ten commanders or captains, and four troops of cavalry, containing together 250 men; the clergy, on this occasion being permitted to rate themselves, were charged with 149 men of various arms, being the twentieth part of the whole. The threatened invasion by the Spaniards was the cause of so large a body of troops being assembled. The Severn was accessible to the Armada, or to a detached portion of it specially detailed to destroy as many as might be possible of the young oak-trees of the forest of Dean, a famed supply of ship-timber for the English marine;—royal navy is a term which can hardly be appropriately applied to the fleets, which were as yet largely composed of ships fitted out by various cities and seaports, merchant adventurers, and private individuals, (as a matter of fact, but 34 out of the fleet of 191 ships equipped to meet the Armada were the Queen's,)—and that the defence of the river must be fully provided for was essential. But there is no record of how long this large county force was kept on foot, nor of its reduction.

* Succeeded his father Edmund Lord Chandos 15 Elizabeth, married Frances, daughter of Edward Earl of Lincoln, and was buried at Sudeley 36 Elizabeth, without leaving issue male; his nephew, Grey Lord Chandos, was the lord styled "King of Cotswold." The record of his commission as lieutenant, dated 29 Elizabeth, 1587, runs, "R. xx°. Junii constituit dñi Chandos locum tenen. in com. Glouc.;" a second commission, dated 17 November of the same year, adds the words "et alibi."

† It was first created 3 Edward VI.

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1588. Another return by the same lieutenant, dated August 2, 1588, and (like an earlier one) from Cirencester, is accompanied by a letter from his lordship to the Lords of the Privy Council, running thus :—

"Maye ytt please the same to be adv'tized, That according to yo^r ho: lr̃es of the xxiij^th of July last for the sending vpp of 20 Launces, 100 Light Horse, and 1,500 Footemen owt of my Lyvetenãncy for the s'vice of her Ma^ti, I have now (I hope) fully and dutifully answered yo^r L's expectac̃on therin, and have herewth sentt vpp the said numbers vnder the conduct of the gent. in this scedule herinclosed, named according to the daies p̃scribed in the said honorable l'res." . . . .

The schedule itself is an interesting one, from the fact that the captains of the bands were many of them members of families still settled in the county at the present day,* and it is therefore given in its own words (see p. 23).

* William Brudgs, brother and heir to Gyles Lord Chandos and father of Grey fifth Lord, "King of Cotswold."

Sir John Tracy, of Toddington, Sheriff and M.P. for Gloucestershire, was knighted by Queen Elizabeth in 1574. He married Anne, daughter of Sir Thomas Throckmorton of Corse Court, and had issue Sir John, first Lord Tracy, so created in 1642. He died in 1591, and from him is descended the Lord Tracy in the North Gloucester battalion in 1761, and in the maternal line the present house of Hanbury-Tracy, Barons Sudeley of Toddington.

Sir H. Poole was Sheriff 31 Elizabeth, and "was eminent for his great housekeeping;" lord of the manor of Cirencester, and of many other manors in that neighbourhood. He died in 1616. He is now represented by the Earls of Newburgh.

Henry Winston, of a family now represented by that of Curtis-Hayward of Quedgeley, co. Gloucester, and a member of which was Captain W. Hayward Winstone of the North Gloucester in 1780.

George Huntley acquired the manor of Boxwell, co. Gloucester, temp. James I., by purchase from Sir Walter Raleigh, and was Sheriff in 1599. The manor still remains in the same family.

William Dutton, of Sherborne, was Sheriff in 1590 and 1601, married Anne, daughter of Sir Ambrose Nicholas, knight, Lord Mayor of London, and died 1618. He was eldest son of the purchaser of the manor of

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Comitas Glouc. | Secundo Augusti | 1588. A true Certificat of the Forces nowe sent upp under the generall chardge of Sr John Tracy, Knight, wth the names of the Captaines, and Contmēt of the Bands under their severall conducts.

	Captaines.	Bands.		Launces.	Light Horse.	Captaines.	
	William Brudgs, ar.	300		10	50	William Dutton, ar.	
	John Tracy, knight	300					
footemen 1500.	Henry Poole, knight	300		10	50	Tho. Lucye, ar.	horsemen.
	Antho. Hungreford, ar.	250					
	Henry Winston, ar.	250		20	100		
	Geor. Hunttley, ar.	150					
		1,500					

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1588. Curiously enough, from a document preserved amongst the Harleian MSS.* at the British Museum, may be ascertained the very day prescribed in the "honorable l'res" referred to by Lord Chandos for the arrival in London of this identical levy. Both horse and foot were expected on August 6th. The same authority gives a complete account of the whole available strength of the county of Gloucester, and of its arrangement in bands or companies, as certified by Lord Chandos on April 8 of this same year, and with it a description of their arms and equipment. These were of course supplied at the expense of the inhabitants of the county, except for a contribution from the royal exchequer towards the cost of the coats; and the outfit of each man consisted of "a good coate or cassocke of broade cloth, and all that are of one and the same companye are coated in one and the same collore.

"A paire of Venetian hose.

"A doublet of canvas.

"A stronge hatt or capp.

"2 sheertes of linen clothe.

"2 bandes of hollande clothe.

"2 or 3 paire of kersie stockinges.

"2 or 3 paire of shoes."

The certificate, which is one of a complete set of returns from each and every lieutenancy in the kingdom, is as follows (see p. 25).

It may safely be said that no more complete epitome than this of the resources of any county now exists, even relating

Sherborne, and ancestor to the present Barons Sherborne, the first of whom held a commission in the North Gloucester in 1761.

Thomas Lucy, son and heir to Sir Thomas Lucy of Charlecote (the Justice Shallow of Shakspeare), married the daughter and heiress of Rowland Arnold of Highnam, co. Gloucester, by Mary daughter of John Lord Chandos. His only child by her married Sir W. Cooke of Highnam *jure uxoris*.

* Harleian MSS. No. 168, British Museum.

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Gloucestershire

Ablemen 14000

ffurnished 4000

Trained 3000

	Men.	Shott.	Corslets.	Bows.	Bills.	
Charles Bridges . / John Tracy . . .	750	300 cal. / 075 musk.	150	75	150	
Sr Henry Poole . / Anthony Hungerford	750	300 cal. / 075 musk.	150	75	150	Call. 1200, Musk. 300, Corsl. 600, Bows 300, Bills 600 — 3000
Sr Richard Berkeley / Thomas Throgmorton	750	300 cal. / 075 musk.	150	75	150	
Thomas Baynam . / William Bridges .	750	300 cal. / 075 musk.	150	75	150	

Provisions

Pioneers . .	0300
Powder . .	8000
Match . .	5000
Bulletes . .	6400
Cartes . .	0072
Nagges . .	1700

Untrayned 1000

	Men.	Shott.	Corslets.	Bows.	Bills.	
Gilberte Reade . . .	250	100 cal. / 25 musk.	50	25	50	
Henry Winstone . ,	250	100 cal. / 25 musk.	50	25	50	Cal. 400, Musk. 100, Corsl. 200, Bowes 100, Bills 200 — 1000
George Huntley . . .	250	100 cal. / 25 musk.	50	25	50	
John Banham . . .	125	50 cal. / 25 musk.	25	13	25	
William Bridges . .	125	50 cal. / 25 musk.	25	12	25	

Horsemen

Launces	020	Captaines	Wm Dutton / Henry Bridges
Light horse	180	Capt. George Huntley, Tho. Lucye	
Petronelles	035	Captayne	

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1588. to far more modern times, and some idea may be formed of the strain put upon the maritime counties, and those more immediately threatened by the Spanish, for the contingent required from Gloucestershire was by no means one of the heaviest.

An additionally natural and life-like tone is given to one of Lord Chandos's dispatches by the addition to it of a recommendation of its bearer, his uncle, Anthony Bruges,* to receive pay as a muster-master; such officers appear to have been entitled to 6*s.* 8*d.* per diem, as well as to the services of four clerks at 2*s.* per diem each, and it is not impossible that perquisites added to these emoluments; the recommendation is accordingly an earnest one.

We must go to the records of the city of Norwich for a fuller description † of the equipment of mounted troopers such as these under Sir John Tracy, which was as follows:—

"*The dymylaunce hors.* A launce must have a trotting horse or a lardge trotting gelding with a strong leather harneys. A steel saddle or a very strong bolstred saddle, with all good and suffycyent furnyture thereto belonging.

"*The man.* A dymylaunce harneys furnished. One dymylaunce staffe, one sword and dagger, one battle axe.

"*The light hors and ryder.* His case of pistolls, his light horseman's staffe. A sword and daggar, a jack of plate or coat of plate. A skulle for his hed, with cheekes covered with cloath or suche like, or a burgonet. The gelding to trott or rack, and the sadle light after the order of the larger northern saddle and snaffle or light bytt. His dublett sleves styked

* It was from him that the Kentish family of the same name endeavoured to trace descent in the well-known Chandos Peerage claim.

† Printed in "Norfolk Archæology," vol. i.

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downe with som small cheane or plate, or the curasse of a corstlett." 1597.

Let us turn for an instant to the armourers' accounts of these stirring times, and gain therefrom some notion of the expenses incurred in "furnishing" such large levies, taking the items from the prices charged by various London makers in 1588.

"For whight corsletts xliiij^{s} a pyece.

"For curats * xx^{s} a pyece.

"For halberds iiij^{s} a pyece.

"For black moryons v^{s} x^{d} a pyece.

"For swords and daggars, every sword and daggard vj^{s} viii^{d} a pyece.

"For pikes iij^{s} viij^{d} a pyece (this was to the Queenys pikemaker).

"For Englishe muskets with the rest, fflask, and touche-boxes, xxvij^{s} a pyece.

"For playne muskets xiij^{s} iiij^{d} a pyece.

"For calyvers without fflasks v^{s} a pyece."

"Dutche" made muskets, like Liège guns at the present day, were cheaper than English, being xx^{s} each.

"Goone powder" was "xij^{d} the pound," and tailors charged "x^{d} a piece" for making soldiers' coats."

Again in 1597 was Lord Chandos required to send up 150 men from Gloucestershire "on the coming of the Cardinal of Austria into France and nearing Boulogne;"† at the same time a large levy was made upon the city of London, and the county of Kent was ordered to furnish 1,000 of the ablest men of its trained bands. Their "conduct" money was a halfpenny per mile per man and four pence for their leaders.

* A "curat" consisted of two plain plates, one for the back and the other for the breast. Judging from the cost, these must have had head-pieces also.

† State Papers (Domestic).

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1610. It will have been noticed that more than one of the dispatches of Lord Chandos have been dated from Cirencester, and before going on to the levies of another lieutenant let us note the intimate dependence of the Castle of Sudeley upon that town. More from the power and loyalty of its owners than from its situation, it was at this time the most important residence in the county, with the exception of Berkeley, and had been so from the days of the stout Lancastrian, Thomas Boteler, Lord Sudeley, its builder, who regretfully said on his attachment by Edward IV. "Sudeley Castle, you are the traitor, not I." Here we find Cirencester the usual resort of Lord Chandos, coming up from his castle to raise the county; and later on in the Civil Wars we find Sudeley looked upon as a kind of outpost of that strong, we may almost say fortified, town, and as being certain to stand or fall with it.

Passing now to the next reign, we find the militia altogether remodelled, following the course of legislation noticed in the preceding chapter.

In the seventh year of James I. Henry, twelfth Baron Berkeley, was Lieutenant of Gloucestershire, only two deputy-lieutenants being associated with him in the commission,—Sir Richard Berkeley, knt., and William Dutton, esq; the latter it will be remembered had been captain of a band of horse under Sir John Tracy in 1588,—and the force raised and put under his command was nearly the same as that which in the year 1588, more than twenty years before, had been mustered by Lord Chandos. An apportionment appears to have been duly made of the quotas to be furnished by the different divisions of the county, and it stood thus:—

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Divisions.	Men.	Captains.	1610.
Berkeley	750	3	
The Seven Hundreds . .	750	3	
Kiftsgate	750	4	
The Forest	400	2	
Gloucester, with the Hundred of Dudston and King's Barton .	350	1	
	3,000	13	

The force however was differently armed. There were 600 pikemen and 1,600 halberdiers. The musketeers numbered 600, and the men armed with "calivers" 1,200.

The cavalry were two hundred in number, and were under the command of four captains. Of these, twenty bore lances, and were probably fully equipped in the panoply and arms of the period. The remainder of the horsemen were light-armed. The county provided ammunition for the whole force; and the large sum at that day of £400 was raised for this purpose. What the exact intention and meaning of so well-provided a levy may have been is not so apparent. Peace had been made with Spain, the Gunpowder Plot was over, and there is no record of any serious internal feuds or dissensions; but a turbulent feeling was abroad, men's minds were unsettled, and the general necessity was probably felt of having an armed force more or less under discipline.

From this time forward for many years it is difficult to condense into a sketch that is but an introduction to the history of a modern militia regiment, not an exhaustive county chronicle, the mass of local military detail that is available. Year by year, during the time of James I. were levies required from the county and city of Gloucester, and volumes of correspondence relating to both are pre-

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1624. served amongst the archives of the latter. In 1618 a Lord Chandos * was again required to make "a perfect inrollment of all the numbers both trayned and untrayned, and especially that the trayned bands be made perfect and complete by supplying the names of such officers and other persons as are either dead, insufficient, or otherwayes wanting, as well those of the better quality as other freeholders, farmers of land, or householders."†

The city returned 300 men of the trained bands, able of foot—corslets 120, muskets 180,—and 20 light-horse, ten only of which were pronounced sufficient; amongst them the two furnished by William Guise, esq. Sir. W. Cooke, knight,‡ Henry Poole, esq. Jasper Selwyn, esq. and Richard Atkyns, esq. must be specially noted as amongst the defaulters. In addition to all these there were 1,000 able men "serviceable and fitt to bear arms and use weapons for his Ma^ties service," who appeared before the authorities according to the summons.

This complete return gives an adequate notion of the resources of the county-town. Other such levies were required in most of the following years, but space will serve only for the matters of special interest connected with them. For instance, to the orders of 1624 there is added a "Postscriptum:"—"Wee expect that your Lo^p shall call uppon the clergie of that county for pformance of that w^ch belongeth to them for their parte." This was directed to Lord Northampton, as Lieutenant not only of Gloucestershire, but of Warwick, Worcester, Hereford, Salop, Radnor, Pembroke, Cardigan, Caermarthen, and Brecknock. Again we find the same defaulters in the

* Grey fifth Lord Chandos, "King of Cotswold."

† For this, and the information contained in the two pages following, the compiler is indebted to the Archives of the city of Gloucester and the courtesy of the Town Clerk.

‡ Sir W. Cooke, knt. (see page 24).

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matter of light-horse, and to the list must this time be added the name of Sir William Guise, knight. Another circumstance of interest is that the county found itself obliged to remonstrate with the city for the small proportion of the required contingent supplied by it. 1625.

Wee have received (say the Deputy Lieutenants) yo^{r} l^{re} wherby wee understand that yo^{u} have forty men in readiness, w^{ch} y^{o} thinke to be yo^{r} full proportion. Wee expected more from y^{o}, but wee Leave the disputac'on of that matter untill some other tyme, and will accept of yo^{r} 40 men in the int'm. We shall desire yo^{u} to have them in readiness against Wednesday morning by eight of the clock, being xxiith of December, at w^{ch} time the Lieuten'nte unto S'ient Maior Gibson will be with you to receave them, And soe wth our kind salutations we bidd yo^{u} heartilie farewell.

Your loving friends,

JOHN HUNGERFORD,
HENRY POOLE,
JOHN DUTTON,*
W. HUNTLEY.

Cirencester, this 15th of Decemb. 1624.

In the first year of King Charles I. we find the earliest mention in local records of the term "militia." The proclamation of the King from Woodstock runs that "the p̃sent doubtfull and dangerous condition of these tymes require more than ordinarie care," and it continues, that "there can be no means more reall and useful than putting the trained bands into such a readiness and establishing such a militia at home as may give hope and courage to our good subjects and terror to those that may intend any disturbance."

* Son of the William Dutton mentioned more than once, a devoted Royalist. He died 1656 (see page 22).

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1645. This year the former defaulters thought fit to produce their horses with the following various results, viz.:—

"Sir A. Porter, knt. one browne bay, pronounced sufficient.

"Sir W. Guyse, knt. one browne bay and one gray, sufficient.

"Jasper Selwyn, esq. one sorrell gelding with a white face, insufficient.

"Walter Compton, esq. one fflea-bitten gray, sufficient."

There are now almost annual orders as to the militia, one for 1638 directing that they be mustered and exercised at such convenient times "as may be least incomodious unto them in respect of their harvest and other their countrye affaires."

But this brings us to the time of troubles in earnest, and few counties can have such a curious account of their levies as that published in the form of a pamphlet* in 1645 by one John Corbet, a Nonconformist divine of considerable note, the son of a mechanic at Gloucester, where he afterwards became a preacher, residing in that city during its siege by the Royalists. Though describing himself as "a Preacher of God's word" he was, after the manner of those times, a furious politician, on the Parliamentary side of course, and a keen military critic. His relation, nominally of the affairs of the city of Gloucester only, but in reality a most picturesque though one-sided view of local military history, begins by saying

* "An historical Relation of the Military Government of Gloucester from the beginning of the Civill Warre between King and Parliament to the removal of Colonell Massie from that Government to the command of the Western Forces. By John Corbet, preacher of God's Word. London, 1645."

This has been reprinted in the "Bibliotheca Gloucestriensis," a collection of scarce and curious tracts relating to the county and city of Gloucester illustrative of and published during the Civil War. Washbourne and Son, Gloucester, 1823.

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that the engagement of the city of Gloucester in the common cause of religion and liberty first began when the Houses of Parliament declared to the kingdom their resolution of a defensive war; and he proceeds to say that the county, during the King's preparations in the North, began to put itself in a posture of defence "according to the slendernes of al beginnings," and awaited the instructions of Parliament. What follows must be given in his own words:— 1645.

And whereas the Ordinances of Militia was the first pretended ground of difference between His Majesty and the Houses, when the rent was once made a greater necessity impleaded the execution of that ordinance. Whereupon Lord Say was by order of Parliament appointed Lord Lieutenant, and a Commission was likewise granted to divers gentlemen for Deputy-Lieutenants, many whereof drew back and shunned the employment, so that the power for the most part vested in the Members of the House of Commons for the county, by whose countenance many companies of Volunteers were raised, then called the *Militia* bands, and led by such captaines as the embryo of the Warre could afford. But the first undertaking was more jocund than the progresse, as oft times it comes to pass that a military pompe and appearance of bravery doth affect and raise up many feeble spirits who quickly lye flat when they begin to feel the cruelty and stubbornness of warre. The Commission of Array did not adventure to render itself to the people; it was about to be offered to their liking at Cirencester by the Lord Chando's and some other disaffected gentlemen, but was stifled in the birth and crusht by the rude hand of the multitude before it saw the light; the chief abettor thereof was like to suffer violence by the meanest of the people whose fury constrained him to promise and give under his hand that he would never more deale in the business.

Lord Chandos however succeeded in escaping unhurt, and the rage of the mob was spent in destroying his coach and whatever property he left behind; and hereupon, says

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1642. Corbet, "the full streame of the country runnes for the Ordinance of the Militia, and against the King's declarations and the Commissions of Array."

From this may be gathered additional proof, were any required, not only that the word *Militia* itself was a comparatively new term, but that it was the distinctive term for the Parliamentary levies, as opposed to the King's "arrays."

None of them were at first of any efficiency, for our author says in his quaint way, that "the trained bands, accounted the main support of the realme and bulwarks against unexpected invasion, were effeminate in courage and incapable of discipline, and a small body of Cavaliers might over runn and ruine them at pleasure. Some professed souldiers were sent down from the Parliament to settle these and the Militia bands, who had this onely according to the rules of warre, to be gathered under severall Captaines and many of them into the forme of a Regiment, which disposition might fit them for a suddaine service and the very posture conferre something of a warlike spirit." The sad experiences of civil war soon however told upon the men of Gloucestershire, and, whilst at first some "peeces of ordinance" sent from London and Bristol were received with universal amazement by "an Inland people," they soon grew familiar with their terrible execution; and there is not a village, it may be almost said, in the whole extent of the county that was not the scene of bloodshed within the next few years. It must be remembered that it was a disaffected district situated between the loyal counties of Oxfordshire and Worcestershire on the one side, and still more loyal South Wales on the other, cutting off communication between the two districts and marking it for the battle-ground of the contending parties. Any detailed account of the horrors that occurred will be unnecessary here; they would form a

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volume of themselves and constitute a history of the times, 1642-3.
for there is little else to record. Those, however, must be noted which more nearly relate to the local levies. The attention of the county authorities was first turned to Cirencester, and there its military strength was collected as being a frontier town towards the King's head-quarters. It was fortified and garrisoned by the Parliament "as well as a safeguard to the surrounding country as to prevent the incursion of the enemy,"—so the Royalists were always termed by Corbet. Colonel Fettiplace had command of the town, and under him the trained bands and volunteers were formed into a regiment, and two companies of Lord Stamford's regiment were added "to encourage the businesse." A few horse and dragoons were raised at the expense of the county, and "the rest of the *Militia* were to assist upon all appearance of danger." The control of affairs chiefly rested upon "Sir Robert Cooke, Sir John Seamore, Master Nathaniel Stephens, Master Edward Stephens, Master Thomas Hodges,"* and some other Deputy-Lieutenants. The rest of the gentry stood aloof, the middle classes alone being active adherents of the Parliament.

What followed is well known to readers of Gloucestershire history. The King's army under Prince Rupert appeared before Cirencester at a time when the garrison was weakened by the assistance sent to Sudeley Castle, the only experienced officer left in that town being a Lieut.-Colonel Karre. Sudeley had fallen into the hands of the Parliamentary forces only a few days before, and now the Prince passed it by, and, feeling assured that its recapture

* These were all of well-known families; Sir Robert Cooke was of Highnam and son of Sir William Cooke (see pages 24, 30).

The family of Stephens, of great note from the earliest times, was originally settled at Eastington, having powerful branches at Cherrington, Lypiatt, and Sodbury.

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1642-3. would follow the fall of Cirencester without further effort, pressed on, and on February 2, 1642-3, took that town by assault, capturing an immense store of arms and 1,100 prisoners, who were all thrust together, gentle and simple, into the Abbey church, and many sent to Oxford in the most abject condition to sue for pardon. Prince Rupert's next point was Gloucester, but, other events intervening, it was not until after the capture of Bristol later in the year that it was regularly invested. When the siege however was undertaken it proved perhaps the most important operation of the war, and the house of Selwyn remember with pride the sojourn of the King himself at Matson during the twenty-six days on which he was present at it in person in the months of August and September. Here let us note that it was the arrival of the London trained bands that compelled the retirement of the Royal forces, and materially contributed to raise the siege, upon which we find them complacently going home, "the date of their commission expiring, having done as brave a service as these warres can show forth, enobled by its wonderful rise, lively progresse, nimble expedition, admirable fortune, and honourable conclusion." Such was John Corbet's view of the matter, he being one of the beseiged.

An account of this exploit of the trained bands was printed shortly afterwards, "for the satisfaction of many who desired information herein," by one Henry Foster "quondam Sergeant" to Captain George Mosse.* The relieving force consisted of two regiments of the London Trained Bands, "being the Red and Blew Regiments," and of three regiments of auxiliary forces, "the Blew, Red, and Orange." Their battles and skirmishes with the enemy at "the Stow-the-old Sep^{r} 4, at Auburne Chace Sep^{r} 10, and at Newbury Sep^{r} 20" are detailed, and the whole

* Bibliotheca Glocestriensis.

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march of the contingent described for the month it was on the service. It must have been a remarkable sight to have seen this force advancing over Cotswold hill sides in a line of a thousand men abreast and six deep, a formation they seem to have sometimes adopted. 1643.

In 1643 Cirencester was recovered by the Parliamentary forces under Lord Essex, who drove out two regiments of horse under Sir Nicholas Crispe and Colonel Spencer.

And now comes a confused and intricate series of battles and skirmishes, merely to enumerate which would be to name every village in the district which would be inclosed on three sides by lines drawn from Lydney to Berkeley, thence to Cirencester, and from that town northwards to Sudeley Castle. This latter stronghold, again following the fate of Cirencester, passed once more into the hands of the Parliament, surrendered by Sir William Moreton, a gentleman of the long robe, who had exchanged the gown for the sword and the Oxford Circuit for the field at the commencement of the war, serving the King under Lord Chandos with the greatest distinction.

Colonel Massie, a professed and able soldier of fortune, was till 1645 the chief of the Parliamentary forces, and was Governor of Gloucester till removed to the more important command of the west of England. On the other side Sir William Vavasour was sent into the county with a strong party to raise forces for the King, and he commanded the Royalists in Gloucestershire and Herefordshire during this period.

Every corner of the county was garrisoned; "malignant gentlemen of Cotswold provide armes and garrison strong houses." The King "wasted" the hills, and the Parliament "preserved" the vale, until at length the King held only Berkeley Castle and Lydney House, the seat of that staunch Royalist Sir John Wintour.

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1645. But for these curious local accounts of the militia levies of Gloucestershire, published at the moment by one or other of the conflicting parties in these troublous times, in order to spread the news of its success, and collected and reprinted in the "Bibliotheca Glocestriensis," we should have had but little knowledge of the part they played, owing to the small leisure left for record-writing amid such events and the wholesale destruction of everything that would burn, the effect of which has told heavily upon the number and importance of contemporary State Papers. However prejudiced and one-sided it may be, the pamphlet of Corbet has the rare value of being an account of the impressions of an actual eye-witness of the events he is describing, a value which justifies, if indeed it does not demand, somewhat detailed reference to its pages. We have no such help for the days following; neither the last days of Charles the First, the period of the Commonwealth, nor the reign of Charles II. supply any very important local record; and of the militia generally during this period, so far as county history is concerned, but few particulars are to be collected.

The truth is that there was but very little to record; men were weary of domestic warfare; and when in 1657 the city of Gloucester was warned "to raise its militia against the designs of the Cavaliers against it," answer was made to His Highness Oliver Lord Protector of the Commonwealth "that they had only 150 muskets in their possession, and no pikes."

A somewhat grim order,* bearing the signature of John Bradshawe as President of the Council of State, dated in 1651, must not be omitted. It directs the city to send up ten horse-militia completely armed, "choosing the most

* Archives of the Corporation of Gloucester.

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disaffected to the present government" of those liable to the service. And it is noticeable because the men were to be draughted as it were from the militia into the regular service. 1660.

The Council of State seem to have determined to raise a portion of the militia for six months "to be paid as the rest of the established forces of the army, whereby they may be alwaies in greater readines against all attempts of the enimies of the Comonwealth than the militia forces could be."

This is more like a modern embodiment of the militia than anything that has yet occurred in the history of the service, but there is the essential difference, that here small parties only of men from each county were summoned and formed into regiments, suspiciously like regular troops, and with no inconsiderable danger of the constitutional theory of the militia being ignored altogether. Amongst the "disaffected" persons who were ingeniously fined by this levy are to be found a Guise, a Bridgeman, and an Atkins; and with this remark we must pass on to the Restoration.

Amongst the addresses of congratulation presented to His Majesty on that occasion was one from the militia officers of the city of Gloucester,* of which a certain Toby Jordan was colonel, Henry Selwyn lieut.-colonel, and Henry Gyse the major. There is no note of the militia of the county until 1666, when the formal alliance of Louis XIV. with the Dutch in their war against England, and the imminence of the danger, called forth the whole military enthusiasm of the country. Gloucestershire bore its part; Lord Herbert, its lieutenant, in obedience to the order to draw out the militia, arrayed both horse and foot according to the latest musters; and in a letter dated in June at Bristol from John Fitzherbert to Williamson,*

* State Papers (Domestic)

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1666. then Under-Secretary of State, the county force is described as "in good equipage, well officered, disciplined, and ready to march." The militia horse was summoned to a general rendezvous in order to send one-fourth part of them to Maidenhead, and the whole regiment was "in buff-coats, carabines, and pistols." Such was the spirit displayed that each man, it is said, strove to make friends with the lord-lieutenant to go on the service. Most of the deputy-lieutenants were present, and many gentlemen of the best quality expressed great readiness to serve, and offered to raise both horse and foot. What became of them is uncertain; but, as we have seen that the home-counties militia required summoning and were not in an embodied state at the time of the great fire of London in September of this same year, it may be presumed that the great victory of Prince Rupert and the Duke of Albemarle over the enemy off the North Foreland in July had enabled the government to dismiss the whole force after its muster and training.

There is nothing to note from this time until 1685, the year of the accession of James II. when it is almost certain that the Gloucestershire contingent was called to arms, to meet the rebellion of the Duke of Monmouth; more especially as we find the militia of the neighbouring county of Oxford collected, consisting of a regiment of foot and a troop of horse. Indeed, the brunt of whatever fighting then took place fell on the militia, for, though they at first retired before the Duke's adherents, no long time after his landing at Lyme he was defeated and captured by Sir William Portman and Lord Lumley at the head of the militia of their counties, and the reward of 5,000*l.* to be given to whoever "should bring Monmouth in" was ordered to be distributed amongst their regiments by agreement between those two commanders.

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If, however, the militia of Gloucestershire was summoned it was almost immediately disbanded again, as the Oxford regiment was kept together for less than a month. 1685.

It is curious to note the difficulty with which the more regular forces were recruited. An officer sent this year to Oxford * with drums to beat up for volunteers to supply the places of the King's foot-guards at Whitehall, "who were drawne out of London towards the rebells in Dorsetshire," got but 40 men, and "only 4 at Abendon, being a most factious towne." Let us add, that all that was required of the Oxford militia was to listen to a sermon preached before them on a set day by Peter Birch of Christ Church, their chaplain, and to celebrate the defeat of the rebels by various local festivities.

The Earl of Abingdon, lord-lieutenant of that county, was at Oxford "all the while during the militia staying there, and on July 1, the news coming that the rebells were defeated, he made a bonfire at Carfax, and the mayor and his brethren went in scarlet from Pennyless Bench to prayers at St. Martin's church and thence back to Pennyless Bench, and during the bonfire gave wine and bisket to the Earl of Abendon and the militia officers." This news proved premature, but on July 9 it became certain, and the entertainment was repeated, after which the regiment "retired to their respective houses."

In 1688, however, Gloucestershire came more to the front, and at Cirencester, which had now become a very loyal town, perhaps in consequence of the King's clemency upon the submission of the inhabitants after its capture by Prince Rupert, the first blood was shed on account of the Revolution. Here it was that Captain Lorange, of

* From amongst the papers of à Wood preserved in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford, and quoted in his Life published by the Ecclesiastical History Society.

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1688. Haymes near Tewkesbury, an officer of the county militia, instigated by the loyal Duke of Beaufort, fell upon Lord Lovelace, then upon his march to join the Prince of Orange; and, though the captain himself and his son both lost their lives, Lord Lovelace was made a prisoner by his men and lodged in Gloucester gaol. This loyal but unavailing service forms a set-off to much that has a less patriotic, or at least less loyal, tone in the earlier part of the century; but it is only an episode, for during the next fifty years there is little to be said of the militia, or in fact of domestic military affairs at all. Some few regiments, it is true, have left their stamp upon time, such as the Trained Bands of London, but their case is a rare one. At the battle of Bothwell Bridge in 1679, says an old ballad:—

> The Lowdien (Lothian) Mallisha (*sic*) they
> Came with their coats of blew,
> Five hundred men from London came
> Clad in a reddish hue.

A county force, both of horse and of foot militia, certainly existed, and was now and then trained, but there is only enough record remaining to give it "a local habitation and a name."

In 1690, for instance, the Earl of Macclesfield was ordered by the Lords of the Council to call up the militia horse of the county for a month's training; and that the footmen were also assembled at the same time appears from a dispatch* dated August 8, directing the same nobleman to disband them. This last is endorsed on the outside "For S^{r} John Guise att Gloucester, These," and is in the following terms:—

* The original MSS. of this and the following order were kindly placed at the disposal of the compiler by W. J. Phelps, esq. of Chestal, Dursley.

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1690.

GENTLEMEN, Aug. 13te, 1690.

I send you a Coppy of the Queen's Order in Councill which I receaved this day:

MACLESFELD.

After or hearty com'endations, Her Majesty having a graciouse sence of yor Lordsh'ps great care, and of the Readinesse the Militia has shewn for the opposing the French and others theire Maiestyes enemyes: And having receaved Intelligence that the French ffleet is standing off from the English Coast, and theire Maiestyes ffleet being alsoe ready to putt to Sea, we doe hereby signifie to yor Lordsh'p her Maiestyes pleasure That for the Consideration above-mentioned, and of the Harvest which require the hands employed in the Militia, yor Lordsh'p doe forthwith dismisse and send home the Militia both horse and ffoot within yor Lieutenancyes, yor Lordsh'p taking care to expresse her Maiestyes thanks to all whoe have deserved the same for theire past services, the continuance whereof Her Maiesty does in noe man'er doubt of as there shall bee occasion for the security of the Government, and preserving the Religion, Liberty, and Propertyes of her good Subiects, and Soe wee bid yor Lordsh'p very heartily farewell. From the Councill Chamber in Whitehall the 8th day of August, 1690.

yor Lordsh'ps very loving friends,

DORSETT, CARMARTHEN, P.
H. GOODRICK, PEMBROKE,
Jo. BISCAWEN, NOTTINGHAM,
JOHN LOWTHER.

There are no details to give interest to these dates and facts. Little care was bestowed on the militia of the next few years, and, when in 1697 a general muster was made throughout England, the lists of persons chargeable were reported in many cases by the deputy-lieutenants to be incopmlete and imperfect from disuse or neglect.

However little it may have been trained, the large quota due from Gloucestershire was at all events fully officered,

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1697. and in the year last mentioned amounted to 243 horse and 2,199 foot.* Lord Dursley was Lord Lieutenant and colonel of the horse-militia, of which Sam. Barker, esq. was lieut.-col. and Sam. Codrington, esq. the major. The foot-militia was divided into four regiments, the white regiment, of ten companies, commanded by Sir John Guise, under whom served Lieut.-Col. Richard Yate;† the green regiment, of eight companies, by Sir Ralph Dutton, bart.; the blue regiment, of nine companies, by Sir Thomas Stephens; and the red, of nine companies, by Maynard Colchester, esq. Lieut.-Col. Walter Yate and Major Wm. Kingscote served in this last regiment, and amongst the officers of one or other are to be found members of more than one of the families which have furnished officers to the North Gloucester of later days. A Holder and a Greenaway were in the white, Sir Francis Bathurst in the green, and a Larton in the blue regiment.

Besides all these, the city of Bristol returned a list of 727 men and officers, but there is not even a notice of an annual or other training; indeed it seems more than probable that the authorities were satisfied with the completion of the returns, and the certainty that the force was available if required; and, with the exception of a stray note relating to the green regiment, the history of the Gloucesshire must be left, as we have said, a blank for the next fifty years.

James Earl of Berkeley was Lord-Lieutenant and Vice-Admiral of the county at the beginning of the reign of

* The following details are from the Egerton MSS. 1626, at the British Museum.

† A MS. "Manual of the Pike," and some MS. observations "on fighting by small divisions," entered amongst other pocket notes by this officer, now in the possession of his kinsman J. D. T. Niblett, esq. will justify an inference that some attention was paid to military duties.

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George I., and from one of his commissions, dated 1715, 1715.
we find that "the Green" regiment was then under the command of John Dutton, esq. as colonel, and was raised in the Kiftsgate division. "Richard Keeble, esq." was an officer in it, as he had been also in 1697. A curious appendage to this document is an affidavit that the officer appointed by it—Edward Gale, gent.—took the sacrament in the parish church of Charlton Kings on December 18, 1715, in compliance of course with the requirements of the Test Act.*

Disconnected as must ever be historical notes of a force whose very existence depends upon stormy weather, and whose services are forgotten in quieter times, they will have served to mark the gradual growth of the modern militia out of the confused levies of earlier days, which it is often difficult if not impossible to distinguish, into regular and irregular forces: or rather, it should be said, into forces intended for general service and those specially raised for purposes of domestic defence.

* 25 Charles II. c. 2, by which all persons holding office were obliged to take the sacrament according to the mode of the English Church. It was repealed in 1828.

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CHAPTER III.

Formation of the modern Militia of Gloucestershire.

1757. In 1757, about the time when George II. declared war against France, the more modern history of the militia begins. Under the Acts noticed in the preceding chapter the complement fixed for the county of Gloucester, including the cities of Gloucester and Bristol, was 960 men, and to make up the number it was said that one man out of every twenty-nine in the county was required; but no great reliance can be placed upon this statement, as the returns were probably very inaccurate. The men were to be furnished with arms and accoutrements as soon as the county authorities were able to signify that three-fifths of their quota had been raised, and then to be formed into regiments or battalions. But in some parts of England this was not so easily done, and riots occurred in many counties in consequence of the burden placed upon the lower classes by these measures. This was the case in the North, and Gloucestershire was also the scene of much disturbance, especially near Cirencester. A letter from Gabriel Hanger,* lord of the manor of Driffield, near Cricklade, to the Secretary of State, dated November 6th, 1757,† informed the Government that, two days before, a mob of 500 men, assembling at that place, took the militia lists from the high constable with threats of murder,

* Gabriel Hanger, third son and eventual heir of Sir George Hanger of Driffield, co. Gloucester. He was created *Baron Coleraine* in 1762, and died 1773. Three of his sons successively succeeded to that title, which became extinct on the death of the youngest, better known as Colonel Hanger, in 1824.

† Home Office Papers.

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and that the same thing had happened at Lechlade, the people all declaring that not a list should be returned to Gloucester by the set day, which was the 8th inst. The writer ended by representing that the whole country round was in confusion, and urgently requesting that soldiers might be sent into the district, adding that "my Lord Barrington knows the country hereabouts very well." The county of Norfolk presented a loyal contrast; the men assembled with alacrity, and the *eclat* for volunteering in later days was nothing to the military fervour displayed then, says a writer in the Gentleman's Magazine,* who quotes of the Norfolk militia, from a paper of the time, that— 1759.

> Their uniforms were very handsome and *genteel*, and it was *surprising* how soon they made themselves master of the exercise, and there was the greatest emulation among the men who should be most forward in their duty.

All this had its effect, and the account of a review in London in 1759 may be set against the inefficiency suggested by the Coldstream order-book of fourteen years before:

> July 1759 the Norfolk militia were reviewed at Kensington, where Mr. Woodhouse, a gentleman of the family of Lord Woodhouse, marched as a private militiaman; when they highly pleased 30,000 spectators in Hyde Park. His Majesty seemed highly pleased with them, and the Guards received them with drums beating and colours flying. His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, who was present at this review, fell in at Richmond with divisions of both battalions, and ordered each a banknote of 50*l*. His Majesty condescended to pull off his hat to every officer.

The enthusiasm soon spread, and local opposition soon quieted down, though traces of objections on very different

* "Gentleman's Magazine," vol. xciii. p. 605.

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1759. grounds may be seen in the petitions presented against the Militia Bill by many zealous Protestant Dissenters in various towns, for fear of the exercise being appointed to be held on Sundays. Constitutional objections were of course also taken to it, as giving the King larger control over the militia than over the standing army, the latter having an existence of only one year unless renewed, whereas five years was the period of service in the former. Strong protests too were made against the regiments being marched out of the counties where they were raised. It was said that in that case they became nothing less than a supplementary army enlisted for three or five years. The Government persisted in the practice, and one historian* gravely suggests that it was purposely done, to disgust the people at large with the militia system, which had so soon outgrown its unpopularity; but, if so, it failed in its effect, for the militia flourished, and, so far from being disliked, was regarded with increasing enthusiasm by the public; and the House of Commons, except such as actually served in the army, had become very well disposed towards the institution. A spirit of true patriotism had encouraged, and in fact compelled, the raising of the force, and it was only taken into influential favour when it was foreseen that it would set free more of the regular troops for the prosecution of the war in Germany. The same historian † states that between the calling out of the militia in the month of March, 1759, and the end of that year, such care and diligence had been used in disciplining the force, that "the greater part of those truly constitutional battalions rivalled the regular troops in the perfection of their exercises, and seemed to be in all respects as fit for actual service in the field." A general return, quoted in the

* Smollett's History of England, vol. v. p. 266.

† Smollett's History of England, vol. v. p. 69.

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Annual Register,* states, that in July 1759 the county of Gloucester had furnished its quota of 960 men, as yet forming a single battalion, or at all events a single regiment, and that it was at that date "officered and near completion." This statement is not quite borne out by contemporary documents. The course pursued by the Lord Lieutenant, Lord Chedworth,† seems to have been to apportion the quota to be raised in such a way that the two great divisions of the county should raise a battalion each, and his first efforts were directed to completing the south battalion, three-fifths of which were certified as raised at a date as early as April, 1759. But a delay then occurred; and in July, Lord Chedworth, in answer to a pressing request made by the Government for information as to the state of the Gloucestershire quota, replied that 630 men had been raised and formed into ten companies, two of which were however ultimately destined for the north battalion, and that a lieutenant-colonel, a major, eight captains, ten lieutenants, and eight ensigns had been appointed and posted to the companies. He added that he would let Mr. Pitt know as soon as ever the men were ready to march: and that the south battalion was being actively trained, may be gathered from a footnote stating that the two companies, under the command of Captains Leigh and Bush, intended for the north battalion, were too far off to receive any personal instruction from the adjutant of the south battalion. However, exertions were then turned to raising the other half of the quota, and on August 22, 1760, its three-fifths were also raised, and a request forwarded for the issue of arms for its use. A little later, in December of the same 1759.

* The Annual Register, vol. ii. p. 273.

† John How, esq. of Stowell, co. Gloucester, was created in 1741 *Baron Chedworth*, a peerage now extinct.

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1761. year, a complete list of its officers was forwarded to the authorities of the Home Office, and a final requisition for arms for the completed battalion made on January 16, 1761. The names of some of the proposed officers had been submitted in May, 1759, but the eventual list for the North Gloucester Battalion, as signed by four deputy-lieutenants of the county, stood thus: *

Viscount Tracy of the Kingdom of Ireland, Lieut.-Colonel.
Samuel Blackwell, esq., Major.

James Leigh, esq.,	Captains.
Thomas Bush, esq.,	
John Scott, esq.,	
John Sheppard, esq.,	
John Chandler Ready, esq.,	
William Hillier, gent.,	Lieutenants.
Thomas Tindall, esq.,	
——— Wells, gent.,	
——— Hooper, gent.,	
James Dutton, esq.,	Ensigns.
William Cook, esq.,	
——— Yarworth, gent.,	
Thomas Akerman, gent.,	
——— Wills, gent.,	

This brings us to March 30, 1761, when, in the absence of Lord Chedworth, the three senior officers of the battalion, who were all themselves Deputy-Lieutenants, certified the North Battalion of the Gloucester Militia as ready for embodied service.

* Thomas Charles, sixth Viscount, born 1710; married Harriet, daughter of Peter Bathurst, esq. of Clarendon Park, Wilts; but, dying s.p. in 1792, was succeeded by his half-brother John, seventh Viscount, Warden of All Souls' College, Oxford.

James Leigh, esq. was of Adlestrop, co. Gloucester, born 1724; married 1755 Lady Caroline Brydges, daughter of Henry Duke of Chandos; his grandson was created *Baron Leigh*, of Stoneleigh, in 1839.

James Dutton, esq. M.P. for co. Gloucester, born 1744; elevated to the peerage in 1784 as *Baron Sherborne*.

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CHAPTER IV.

The North Battalion of the Gloucestershire Militia, 1761-1797.

THE North Gloucester Regiment of Militia was embodied for the first time on April 4, 1761, as a battalion of fusiliers, and consisted of seven companies. The facings were blue, the lace gold, and remained so until 1805, when the lace was changed to silver. 1761.

It was under the chief command of Colonel Norborne Berkeley * (afterwards Lord Bottetourt), who at that time commanded the united battalions of North and South Gloucestershire.

At present there was no local connection between Cirencester and the North Battalion; indeed, in October, 1760, the South Battalion was quartered in that town; and there we get a glimpse of it in the Memoirs of the well-known Mrs. Delany,† who, writing to her sister, Mrs. Dewes, on the 18th of that month, from Bath, and describing her journey of the preceding day from Stow to Tetbury, says: "We breakfasted at Circencester at the King's Head (the Ram is no more); were much amused with the gay appearance of the militia-men, and had a sight of Col. Berkeley, *all alive!* The martial air and dress has improved him extreamly."

The same lady—and she was no bad judge, for few saw more of fashionable life—had written of Colonel Berkeley

* Norborne Berkeley, esq. of Stoke Giffard, co. Gloucester, was descended from Maurice, second son of Maurice Lord Berkeley, temp. Edward III. and was summoned to Parliament 5 Geo. III. as *Baron Bottetourt* by descent. He was some time Lord Lieutenant of Gloucestershire. In 1768 he was appointed Governor of Virginia, but, dying there two years afterwards, his honours passed to his sister Elizabeth, Duchess of Beaufort.

† Autobiography and Correspondence of Mary Granville, "Mrs. Delany," edited by Lady Llanover, vol. iii. pp. 566, 604.

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1761. in September of the year before (1759), that "he makes as good a figure at the head of his militia-men as he used to do at his election balls."

Soon after the embodiment of 'the North,' both the county battalions were encamped with six other regiments of militia, the Dorsetshire, Wiltshire, Bedfordshire, Essex, Hants, and Leicestershire, at Magdalen Hill near Winchester. The two, taken together, numbered about 1,000 men, and were evidently commanded as one regiment.

The following extract is from a manuscript in the library of the Junior United Service Club, London, dated June 22, 1761, and entitled "Returns of His Majesty's Forces:"—

(Extract)

Gloucestershire, 2 Battalions:
Colonel N. Berkeley, Esq^re.
South Battalion, Winchester Camp.
North ,, ,, ,,

June 22nd, 1761. Winchester Camp.	Commission and Warrant Officers.	Non-Commissioned Officers.	Effectives—Rank and File.	Total Officers and Men.	Wanting to complete the allowance.	Contingent men.	Establishment.
GLOUCESTERSHIRE:							
2 Battalions .	48	70	857	975	25	0	1,000
South Battalion	27	40	484	551	20	0	571
North Battalion	21	30	373	424	5	0	429

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The connection between the two battalions soon however became less intimate, for in November of the year 1761 we find "the North Battalion of the Gloster Militia" at South Moulton, Devon, under the immediate command of Colonel N. Berkeley, on the march to "Biddeford." A solitary monthly return of this date is the only document of a regimental nature relating to this first embodiment of the North Gloucester now extant. We are enabled to gather from it that its total strength on that march was 352 of all ranks; and that 26 rank and file were wanted to complete its establishment. The companies consisted of 63 men each, the lieutenant-colonel and the major each having one, and besides its company-officers the regiment was supplied with the usual staff-officers. The four senior captains were present, but the only lieutenant mentioned by name is Lieutenant Tyndale, who we find amongst the captains twenty years later, when Captain Sheppard, also mentioned, was still in the regiment; and Ensign Day, the only officer of that rank named except Ensign Dutton, was still in the regiment as a captain in 1780. Lord Effingham was in command of the western district. 1761.

None would care to wade through the voluminous pay-warrants of those days, but it may be of interest to give the principal daily rates, viz.:—

Colonel as such	14s	for pay and	18s	for subsistence.
Lieut.-Col. as such	7s	,, and	13s	,,
Major as such	5s	,, and	11s 6d	,,
Captain	9s 4d	,, and	7s 6d	,,
Lieutenant	4s 10d	,, and	3s 6d	,,
Ensign	3s 8d	,, and	3s	,,

Sergeants received 1*s.* per diem as pay, and the same for their subsistence; and privates half these sums respectively.

The estimates for the clothing of the "embodied" militia were calculated at the rate of 5*l.* 14*s.* 7*d.* for each

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1762. serjeant, and 2*l.* 5*s.* 7*d.* for privates, and that of other ranks in proportion; these rates being reduced to 3*l.* 10*s.* and 1*l.* 10*s.* for later years, when the disembodied force was only called up for its four weeks' training.

At Bideford the regiment seems to have remained until June, 1762, doing duty over the French prisoners of war detained there. In that month they were relieved by the First Battalion of Devon Militia, and proceeded to take up their quarters again in the camp near Winchester, where they arrived some time in July, as may be gathered from an order received by Major Blackwell, who was then at home on leave at Williamstrip Park, directing that the recruits should join the regiment there towards the end of the month. After a stay of about three months at the camp the regiment marched in two divisions to Gloucester, their route being through Hungerford, Marlborough, Cricklade, and Cirencester, and six days were spent on the road.

At Gloucester the regiment must be left for the rest of its present embodiment, as there is no record of its further movement. Indeed no later record at all, except that on the conclusion of the war it was one of 39 militia battalions which received His Majesty's bounty to non-commissioned officers and private men, the sum allotted to it being 134*l.* 8*s.*; and, again, that it shared in the thanks offered by Parliament to the militia for its services in these terms:—

Jovis, 9° die Decembris,
Anno 3° Georgii IIIti Regis, 1762.
Resolved, Nemine Contradicente,

"That the thanks of the House be given to the Officers of the several Corps of Militia which are embodied, for the seasonable and meritorious Service they have done their Country: And that Mr. Speaker do signify the same by Letter to the Colonel, or other Commanding Officer, of each respective Corps."

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Pages might be tediously filled with the account of money spent upon the militia during these years, but a few items relating to the North Gloucester might be extracted from the mass in the King's Warrant-Books,* as, for instance, that its marching expenses during the year 1762 amounted to 489*l.* 12*s.* 9*d.* whilst that of the South Battalion reached the sum of 918*l.* 17*s.* 4*d.* 1762.

In the same year a warrant dated August 12 paid Colonel Norborne Berkeley 465*l.* 3*s.* for camp necessaries for the Gloucester Militia, of which 200*l.* 7*s.* was on account of the North Battalion, whilst the year before the charge for the two battalions had been nearly the same, viz. 443*l.* 10*s.* 4*d.*

The estimate for the pay of the embodied militia of the county of Gloucester for the year 1762, two battalions, containing 1000 men, was 15,250*l.* 18*s.* 4*d.*

One John Trotter seems to have been an enterprising contractor of the period, receiving 2,445*l.* 5*s.* 6*d.* in November 1761 for supplying necessaries to a great number of militia regiments. His bill for the equipment of the North Gloucester with knapsacks in May of that year does not seem exorbitant:—

	£	*s.*	*d.*
To 396 Knapsacks, at 2*s.* 6*d.* . .	49	10	0
„ 2 Matts, and packing . . .		3	0
„ Cartage to the Inn		5	0
	£49	18	0

The actual separation of the two battalions, or rather their division into two separate regiments, took place in 1763. Upon April 20 in that year Major Samuel Blackwell was gazetted Colonel of the North Gloucester regiment, Winchcombe Henry Hartley, esq. M.P. for

* King's Warrant-Books and House of Commons Journals, *passim*.

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1763. Sodbury, replacing him as Major.* It is probable that at about the same period the town of Cirencester was allotted to it as head-quarters, and it has remained so to the present day. From this date, for some fifteen years, information respecting the corps is but scanty. It was disembodied at or soon after the time that peace was made with France and Spain, in February, 1763, and was not again called upon for active service till the outbreak of the American War. An annual vote was taken during the interval for the expense of training the militia, but there is no record preserved of the North Gloucester regiment specially. The estimated expense of training the whole force for twenty-eight days, in the year 1764, was 181,214*l.* 3*s.*

During the whole of the ensuing trying period, England was obliged to trust the defence of her soil and coasts almost entirely to the militia regiments. In March, 1778, the North Gloucester was embodied for the second time, still under the command of Colonel Blackwell, and for three months remained at Cirencester, when it was somewhat unaccountably sent to Gloucester, for only a week later, June 8, it came all the way back on its way to Warley Common in Essex, having to take Cirencester, Faringdon, Uxbridge, and Brentwood, in the course of a seventeen days' march to that summer camp. It was encamped on Warley Common till November, when it returned to Cirencester, and remained there for the following winter. At the end of May, 1779, again exchanging winter quarters for a summer encampment, it received orders to proceed to Coxheath; and it left home in two divisions, which followed the same line of march as far as London, after which one went on by Greenwich, Dartford,

* Of Sodbury, co. Gloucester, for many years M.P. for Berkshire; married in 1787 Ann, daughter of Samuel Blackwell, esq. of Williamstrip Park, co. Gloucester; and died 1794.

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and Rochester, and the other by Lambeth, Farnborough, and Wrotham, each taking thirteen days upon the road. 1779.

At Coxheath it formed part of a very large force under canvas, in fact an army amounting to some 15,000 men; the American War was at its height, and the militia as a rule was in a state of efficiency equal to any possible emergency. There were, however, exceptions, and a notable one was the case of the six regiments of the City of London, which seemed to have inherited but little of the quality of the old City Trained Bands, who had done such good service on various fields a century before. In a pamphlet, addressed to the Lord Mayor and Corporation, in 1779,* they are contrasted with the militia of the counties, and in this way we get a spirited sketch of the force assembled at the Coxheath camp.

What vigour (says the writer), spirit, and pleasure animated every British heart when he saw during last summer's campaign the steady discipline that shined forth in the Militia corps; their attention and zeal for the service almost equalled the regular forces. Gentlemen of the first families and fortune in this country embarked in its service, and honourably endured every duty of the field, and we may rest assured that, should our Gallic foes dare oppose this country, our national defence would convince them what Britons can perform when fighting on their natal ground, when fighting for their honour, properties, and liberties.

Whilst at the camp a singular instance of unaccountable presentiment occurred which is placed beyond all doubt by concurrent testimony. A private of the North Gloucester regiment, who was told off for sentry at the commanding officer's tent upon the next relief, begged the serjeant to give him leave to exchange that duty with a comrade (to

* "An Enquiry into the State of the Militia, an attempt to rescue the Militia of the First City of the British Empire from disgrace."—London, 1779. In the library of the British Museum.

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1779. whom he had agreed to give a premium or sum of money for taking the duty) as he had had a *dream*, and remained under its strong impression, that he should be shot upon that post. The improbability of such a circumstance made the request so ridiculous to the sergeant and all who heard it that they laughed him out of what they termed his extreme folly; and, though still much dejected and uneasy in his mind from the remembrance of his dream and its strong hold of his imagination, the jokes of his comrades, and the consideration of the expense in engaging a substitute, overcame his reluctance to do his own duty. He accordingly took his station, and was within five minutes of being relieved, when he was actually killed through a most singular chain of circumstances. An ensign of the regiment had borrowed a gun on the preceding day for the purpose of shooting in the neighbourhood. On his return to camp in the evening, his gun was loaded, and he had cocked and was about to discharge it, when one of his companions suggested to him that it would be very unmilitary to fire a shot within the lines of encampment. He therefore placed the gun in his tent without uncocking it, designing to have it discharged and cleaned the next day before it was sent home. Before, however, he had arisen in the morning, his servant told him that the owner had sent for the gun. He then bid his servant deliver it to the messenger, and let him know that he had intended to return it after being cleaned, but that if he was in haste he must take it in its present state. The messenger professed haste, yet from some reason or other did not take the nearest way to his master's house, but chose the road that led through the officers' street (or quarters), and just as he came in front of the colonel's marquee put his finger on the trigger not thinking the gun was cocked. The consequence was an explosion, and the whole charge lodged

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in the body of the sentinel, who fell and expired without a groan. 1780.

Colonel Blackwell had been gazetted to the rank of colonel in the army on July 2, 1779, and throughout 1780, 1781, and 1782, the same officers held the same commands, the regiment moving about a good deal. From Coxheath * in November, 1779, it went to Gravesend and that neighbourhood; thence, a month later, to the Crays, and, after a very short stay, home to Cirencester for the winter. At the end of May, 1780, moving into Somersetshire, its head-quarters were first at Wellington, then Tiverton, then Plymouth, and afterwards in October at Wells for the winter.

This was the year of the "Gordon No-Popery Mob" in London, where the services of several militia regiments were required to supplement the regular force; six of them were encamped in Hyde Park in June 1780, and they assisted to quell the riots, though not without bloodshed.

In the spring of 1781, whilst the head-quarters of the regiment were still at Wells, and detachments of it posted at Glastonbury, Shipton, and Frome, its duties appear to have been to assist the revenue officers when required, but most of its officers were absent on leave, though all were in the neighbourhood of their quarters. In March it went to Plymouth Dock Town, and a little later in the

* Whilst at Coxheath there are traces of difficulties between the North Gloucester and Lord Berkeley, then the Lord Lieutenant of Gloucestershire. A long correspondence ensued on his refusal to promote Lieutenant Thomas Crauford to the rank of Captain. This gentleman had been in the regiment from its embodiment in April 1761, and was much liked by his brother officers, so much so that they first appealed to the Secretary of State on his behalf, and later, a memorial was addressed to His Majesty, signed by the whole of the officers. The end of the story is not known; but in the list for 1780 his name is not found, Captain Winstone having been brought in to the regiment as Captain of the vacant company.

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1782. same year it is found at Roborough Camp hard by, under the command of Major Hartley, with all officers present except the Colonel and one Captain; a summer camp, it will be observed, was the invariable rule. In October 1781 it was moved down into Plymouth Town again, and seems to have remained there, or in that part of England, not less than a year, as the next recorded marching order, issued November 8, 1782, took it from Plymouth Camp back into Gloucestershire, five companies to Cirencester, two to Tetbury, and one to Minchinhampton. The only other recorded move is of the last-mentioned detachment to Painswick and Bisley in December.

The regiment was disembodied after the close of the American war at the end of 1782. It is not known for certain where the regiment was broken up, but the outlying companies were probably marched into Cirencester, and the whole paid off there. At the close of the last century embodiment and disembodiment were the order of the day, and there is something magical in the manner in which, both then and now, a regiment of militia appeared and disappeared.

> My Lord, our army is dispersed already;
> Like youthful steers unyoked they take their courses,
> East, west, north, south, or, like a school broke up,
> Each hurries towards his home and starting place.
>
> Shakspeare, King Henry IV. Part ii.

There is here and there however a trace that all this military life and bustle had anything but a beneficial effect upon the minds and morals of the classes from which recruits were drawn. The poet Cowper perhaps took an over gloomy view of things in saying that—

> 'Tis universal soldiership has stabbed
> The heart of merit in the meaner class;

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but a vein of humour runs throughout his thoughts; and his sketch of the career of a militiaman, written in 1784, is so amusing, that, however much we may deplore with him that "with his clumsy port the wretch had lost his harmless manners too," it would indeed be an incomplete sketch of the times that did not laugh with him over "the clown" who— 1784.

* * * *
Is balloted, and trembles at the news;
Sheepish he doffs his hat, and mumbling swears
A Bible oath to be whate'er they please,
To do he knows not what. The task perform'd,
That instant he becomes the serjeant's case,
His pupil, his torment, and his jest;
His awkard gait, his introverted toes,
Bent knees, round shoulders, and dejected looks,
Procure him many a curse. By slow degrees,
Unapt to learn, and form'd of stubborn stuff,
He yet by slow degrees puts off himself,
Grows conscious of a change, and likes it well;
He stands erect; his slouch becomes a walk;
He steps right onward, martial in his air;
His form and movement is as smart above,
As meal and larded locks can make him; wears
His hat, or his plumed helmet, with a grace;
And, his three years of heroship expired,
Returns indignant to the slighted plough.
He hates the field, in which no fife or drum
Attends him; drives his cattle to a march;
And sighs for the smart comrades he has left.
The Task, Winter Evening, Book iv.

In 1792 the North Gloucester regiment was again embodied, and the first thing to be noted is, that in March of the following year, 1793, a meeting of lords-lieutenants of the several counties in England and Wales was held at

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1793. the St. Alban's Tavern in London, for the purpose of drawing lots to determine the precedency of the militia of their counties during the continuance of the war. Forty-five numbers were drawn, No. 8 being allotted to Gloucestershire, and the public notification of the numbers was signed by Lord Amherst.

The distinguishing number for that county in the previous embodiment had varied from year to year, and now as then a single number, whatever it might be, appertained to the whole militia force of the shire. The list of officers for 1780, at the end of this volume, is marked with the number 29; and that for 1810, with 7. It was not until long afterwards that each individual regiment obtained a number of its own and kept it permanently.

The regiment was now at Cirencester under the command of Lieut.-Col. Winchcombe Henry Hartley, M.P. for Berkshire, as Lieut.-Col. Commandant, but he was gazetted Colonel on March 20. Colonel Blackwell had died in the interval which had elapsed since the disembodiment of 1782. Robert Kingscote,* esq. of Kingscote was its major, and among the captains were Henry Howard,† brother of Bernard Edward Duke of Norfolk, and Sir William Champion Crespigny, bart. M.P.‡ Captains Winstone and Purnell Purnell. Colonel Hartley retained the command but a short time, for Major Robert Kingscote was appointed Lieutenant-colonel on February 17, 1794, and

* See Note to Chapter IX. anno 1852.

† Henry Thomas Howard, born 1766, assumed in 1812 the additional name of Molyneux, and in 1817 was granted the precedency of a duke's younger son, his brother Bernard Edward having succeeded to the dukedom of Norfolk. He was Deputy Earl Marshal, M.P. for Steyning, and High Steward of Gloucester.

‡ Sir W. Champion Crespigny, second Baronet, M.P. for Southampton, and sometime Colonel of the Surrey Volunteers, born 1765, married in 1786, Sarah, daughter of Other Lewis Windsor, 4th Earl of Plymouth, and died in 1829.

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Colonel on March 31, in the same year. The appointment of Lieut.-Colonel Purnell Purnell bears the same date, and the commission of the Hon. Thomas Moreton* (afterwards Lord Ducie) as captain is dated March 20, 1794. 1793.

From this time we have far more distinct information of the regiment and its whereabouts. The regimental books are filled with the most voluminous and elaborate, not to say complicated, regulations as to the pay, food, arms, exercise, and general discipline of the corps, most of which possess but little interest, but which may occasionally be quoted, especially when they contrast with more modern practice.

The actual strength of the regiment was now 371, and its establishment when complete about 450. It continued at Cirencester till May 1793, when it proceeded to Dartmouth, where its head quarters were fixed for a short time, companies being detached to Kingsbridge, Totnes, Brixham, Teignmouth, and other places in that neighbourhood.

In July head-quarters were at Plymouth, and during the autumn the regiment was at Roborough Camp, under the chief command of Lieut.-General Morris. Afterwards we find it at Barnstaple for the winter of 1793-4 and the spring of the latter year, then at Totnes, and in the autumn at Berryhead Camp. The following winter and spring it was again at Totnes, and in June 1795 quartered in the South Down Camp, near Weymouth, its eight companies only wanting three to be of their full strength of 500 men. The South Gloucester Militia was also camped there.

The King was at this time at Weymouth his favourite

* Succeeded as fourth Baron, created an Earl in 1837, grandfather to the present Earl Ducie.

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1795. watering-place, and as in the month of August the title of "Royal" is first found added to the name of the North Gloucester, ever since the "Royal North Gloucester," we may safely assume that this distinction was granted to it as a signal mark of His Majesty's approval of the conduct of the regiment, then quartered so near the royal person.

The following general orders were issued on September 29 in that year :—

His Majesty has been graciously pleased to direct Lieut.-General St.John to signify to the two Regiments of Gloucestershire Militia his royal approbation of their behaviour under arms this day, and of their soldierlike and peaceable conduct during the time they have been encamped in the vicinity of Weymouth.

The troops being now ordered into winter quarters, Lieut.-General St.John embraces with pleasure this opportunity of expressing his approbation and thanks to the Commanding Officers and all the Officers and Soldiers of the two Regiments of Gloucester Militia for their steady and soldierlike behaviour during the time of their being encamped at this place, a conduct which, whilst it reflects praise and credit upon themselves, has at the same time afforded the greatest satisfaction to the General who has had the honour to command them.

The good conduct of the militia seems to have been general; an officer of the North Hants, in dedicating a poem to Colonel Hans Sloane, M.P. in 1794, says, "I never saw one soldier in liquor during the four months I was encamped with them, and I do not remember one man being absent from a roll-call during that time."*

On leaving the camp the regiment went into winter quarters at Poole. The field-exercise orders now contain very minute and precise directions as to drill. All marching

* Gentleman's Magazine, vol. lxiv. p. 1193.

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and every evolution was required to be done with "carried" arms. A battalion halted or moving in column might be allowed to "support" arms; but "sloping" arms is absolutely prohibited except "on a long march, when the regular step is suffered to be discontinued and bayonets have been unfixed." It is also ordered that when a battalion is inspected the rear rank "shall not face about as formerly" when the inspecting officer passes along the flanks and rear. After this the head-quarters of the regiment appear to have been at Totnes, Poole, and again at the camp at Weymouth, and detachments were quartered at several small towns in the South of England. When in camp the sum of 7*l.* 10*s.* per month was allowed for the rent of a house to serve as a hospital in any town or village near the camp. The allowance to the colonel for clothing was now as follows:—for a serjeant 5*l.* 14*s.* 7*d.* drummer 3*l.* 0*s.* 5*d.* corporal or private 2*l.* 10*s.* 5*d.* the last being a slight increase upon the rate of 1761. 1795.

It is impossible not to be struck with the number of courts-martial held upon officers of various militia regiments at this period. Seven officers of the North Gloucester are represented as sitting upon one court-martial. Some of the offences charged are singular. One is taxed with used "horrid imprecations," another with having "sent his colonel to Coventry," and this charge is three times repeated. The Gloucestershire regiments however seem to have been singularly free from internal dissensions.

In the autumn a general order appeared, and it is often found repeated in after years, permitting those of the militia men who had been "accustomed to husbandry" to assist the farmers in the harvest, at the discretion of the commanding officer, who was directed to take care that the interests of the service should not be thereby damaged. Till July 1796 the North Gloucester is found quartered at

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1796. Poole, then at Lydd and Ashford, both in Kent, between which it remained till late in the autumn. This summer the regiment ceased to be Fusiliers.

The times were considered to be critical, and notice was served upon officers commanding regiments that the resignations of officers could not be accepted. The following general order for the southern district will explain the reason.

Head Quarters, Brighton, Oct. 12, 1796.

The Lieut.-General commanding in Sussex and Kent will direct the general officers of divisions and commanding officers of corps or posts on marching into their winter quarters respectively to appoint proper alarm posts, and to make themselves thoroughly acquainted with the nature of the country and its capability of defence in the vicinity of their winter quarters, thereby acquiring perfect knowledge so as to be enabled to judge of every good position to be taken on any emergent occasion, to make themselves acquainted with all the public and private roads, directing every officer under them to do the same, that in case of the approach of an enemy every movement may be made with facility and without embarrassment or confusion. Should an enemy appear in such force as that the troops immediately opposed to him cannot prevent his making good a landing, the most is to be made of the tract of country entrusted to their care and defence by throwing every obstacle in the way that can impede his advance, harassing and making an impression upon him at every possible opportunity, constantly hanging upon and keeping him in alarm, defending every post or position that admits of it, breaking up roads and bridges, cutting down trees, driving off all horses and carriages, and every kind of cattle, removing flour, grain, and all kinds of provisions into a back situation and out of his reach, thereby protracting the march and gaining as much time as possible; but not to hazard too much or anything decisive until reinforced, and orders may be received from the general commanding the southern district; when it is not doubted the enemy would have reason to repent his rash attempts. In case of any well-founded alarm (for

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false alarms are to be avoided as being prejudicial to the service, tending to fatigue the troops, and denoting timidity and want of discipline), which the commanding officers will see and judge for themselves, whenever that is possible, or *on the most undoubted* information and intelligence received by them, notice is to be instantly dispatched to the nearest general officer, who will not lose a moment in reporting it to the Lieut.-General under whose command he is, and *at the same time* to the General of the whole district at head quarters at Brighton. It is expected that the troops in the south district are supplied with everything necessary to take the field on the shortest notice. 1796.

The regiments to be completed with 36 rounds of ball cartridge and two good flints each, which are to be always kept in reserve for actual service and on no account to be expended in the exercise of the regiment, but to be frequently inspected; and, if any of the powder should be unavoidably damaged, the cartridges to be made up afresh, and the damaged powder used in exercise, constantly preserving the number of rounds above mentioned in good order.

It is clear from this that considerable expectation (perhaps the word "apprehension" ought not to be used) of a descent upon the coast was prevalent, and not without just grounds. Spain declared war against England in the month in which the above order was issued, and the Government must have had information of the preparation for Hoche's expedition, which was actually directed against Ireland in the month of December, but resulted, as is well known, in complete failure.

In the early part of 1797 the regiment was quartered at Ashford Barracks, still under the command of Colonel Robert Kingscote; subsequently it was moved once again to the camp at Weymouth.

In the course of the memorable year '98 it was augmented to ten companies, which were completed by a draught from the Supplementary militia of the county,

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1798. 355 men joining the ranks in March, raising its strength to about 850.

The Supplementary militia had been raised under an Act of November, 1796, but proved an unpopular and excessive tax upon the resources of the country. Riots occurred,* notably one near Boston, in the villages near which town great preparations were made to obstruct by force the deputy-lieutenants in the execution of the militia laws. The presence of a large body of yeomanry drawn up in the town and ready for the emergency alone overawed the rioters, who entered in a large body, "blowing horns and armed with staves, having forced into their company a great number of servants and labourers in husbandry, and the business was proceeded with uninterrupted." However, the Supplementary militia came to an end three years later,† in 1799, although the immediate reason of its abolition, and also of the reduction of the militia itself in the same year, was to throw men into the ranks of the line, if possible.

The probability of invasion was still considered imminent, and the regulations and directions for the assembly of the garrison at different posts in case of an alarm are very minute. The North Gloucester remained at Weymouth till June, when the four companies there and the other four at Poole were all moved to Winchester Barracks, after which the regiment was quartered for a short time at Portsmouth. Thence it moved further afield.

* Gentleman's Magazine, vol. lxvi. p. 1048.

† 39 Geo. III. c. 106.

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CHAPTER V.

The Royal North Gloucester Regiment; in Ireland in '98.

EARLY in the year 1798, the rebellion in Ireland, which had been long smouldering, broke out into a flame, and overran the whole country. A detailed account of it would be irrelevant here; it is sufficient to say that amongst many other English regiments of militia the North Gloucester volunteered its services for the suppression of the insurrection.* 1798.

On June 18, Mr. Secretary Dundas presented a message from the King to the House of Commons, recommending

* The other English Militia Regiments volunteering for Ireland, and under arms there in 1798, were:—

Regiments.	Colonels.
Bedford	J. Moore.
Bucks	George Marquis of Buckingham, K.G.
Dorset	George Earl of Dorchester.
South Devon	John Lord Rolle.
Hereford	Cotterel.
West Kent	James.
Lancashire	Stanley, M.P.
Leicestershire	John Duke of Rutland.
South Lincoln	Sibthorp.
Oxford	Lord Charles Spencer, M.P.
West Suffolk	George Earl of Euston, M.P.
East Suffolk	Goate.
Warwick	Francis Marquis of Hertford.
Worcester	Newport.
WALES.	
Carmarthen	Johnes, M.P.
Denbigh	Sir W. W. Wynne, bart., M.P.
Merioneth	Vaughan.
Montgomery	Browne.

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1798. that these offers should be accepted, and on June 21 the Act of 38 George III. c. 66 passed the House for that purpose. On June 23 Colonel Kingscote was gazetted a colonel in the army, "to take rank as such so long as the North Gloucester Militia should remain embodied for actual service." A letter, dated from the Horse Guards on September 1, apprised him that the French had landed in Killala Bay on August 23, had taken possession of a considerable part of the county of Mayo, and were supposed to have been joined by many disaffected Irish. The North Gloucester was therefore urged to avail themselves of the means of conveyance provided for them and proceed immediately to Liverpool, there to embark for Dublin. No time was lost, for the regiment then lying at Portsea Barracks was drawn up in the barrack-yard to volunteer for Ireland on Sunday night, Sept. 2 (a few hours only after the communication reached them), and at 4 P.M. on the following day, September 3, was started en route for Bristol, for which port its destination had been meanwhile changed. About two-thirds of its strength was taken to Ireland, a detachment of about 320 men being left in occupation of Portchester Castle and the barracks at Fareham. The flank companies were at Weymouth, but they also hurried to Bristol to join the regiment, and arrived there the same day.

The route took them through Salisbury; waggons, carts, chaises, vehicles of all kinds were pressed for means of conveyance; messengers were sent in advance to provide relays, and no means were omitted to expedite the march of the corps. On the evening of September 5 it had reached Bristol. No delay took place, and the next day the regiment, numbering 614 men, embarked for Ireland at Pill near Bristol. It must be conceded that this was no bad feat for a militia regiment to perform; a forced march

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of a hundred miles in eight and forty hours, and an embarkation for foreign service completely equipped, having been accomplished within less than four days from the receipt of the order at a point that distance from the port. 1798.

The *London Chronicle* contains a letter describing the embarkation at Pill, and recounting how "every assistance was most loyally and spontaneously given by the inhabitants of Pill," and how "the inhabitants of Bristol in the few hours that the regiment was in that city collected £300 as a present to the men for their gallant conduct in volunteering."

The passage must have lasted five days, even supposing that Kingroad was not left till September 6, for the regiment only landed at Dublin on September 11, after a very stormy voyage. The *Star* newspaper, of Monday, September 17, 1798, has the following paragraph:—

> On the 11th inst. arrived the North Gloucester regiment of militia at Dublin commanded by Colonel Kingscote. It is a very handsome regiment and musters nearly 1,000 men. They had a very boisterous passage.

Five days at sea in the sailing-packets of the period! Probably there was not a man amongst them who would not sooner have faced the whole insurgent army.

The regiment appears to have marched to and occupied the town of Drogheda; and it is somewhat curious to note that its ranks now included one bombardier and four artillerymen with two field-pieces, but no horses are mentioned for the guns. There is no account of any collision between it and any part of the rebel force. They were not called upon for active service in the field so far as can be gathered, but did garrison duty, being quartered in a very disaffected district. Although General Lake had been defeated by the French and the armed peasantry but a few days before the arrival of the North Gloucester in Ireland,

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1798. General Humbert had to surrender at Ballinamuck within seventeen days after his landing in Killala Bay, and the only real fighting left to be done was the naval action off Lough Swilly between the 74-gun ship of the line and its three attendant frigates under the command of Admiral Bompart, and the English fleet under Sir John Warren, which ended in the total defeat of the French squadron, and was soon followed by the arrest and death of the rebel leader Wolfe Tone, who was with the French expedition and wore French uniform.

The total defeat of the foreign contingent was the final act of the insurrection. There had been, it is true, some little desultory fighting, but, by the time that nineteen regiments of English and Welsh Militia had arrived in Ireland, so strong a reinforcement of the local corps disheartened the insurgents, the rebel forces were everywhere beaten, and the insurrection died out, or dwindled down into a series of agrarian murders.

At the close of this year, Major Henry Howard became lieut.-colonel of the North Gloucester, and the major was Sir Wm. Crespigny, bart. In common with other corps of militia, the regiment received the thanks of both Houses of the Irish Parliament for having volunteered their services in a time of such danger.

Veneris 5 Die Octobris 1798.

Resolved nem. con.

That the thanks of this House be given to those regiments of British fencibles and militia who by embarking for this kingdom and by their cordial and voluntary assistance in the present moment of danger have so nobly manifested that they consider the interests of Great Britain and Ireland as inseparable and the same.

Ordered,

That Mr. Speaker do communicate the said thanks. Signed George Fitzgerald Hill, Cler. Dom. Com.

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This was accompanied by the following letter, addressed to Colonel Kingscote, at Drogheda:— 1798.

SIR,

In conveying the thanks of the House of Commons of Ireland, contained in the above resolution, which I request you to communicate to the regiment under your command, I beg you to be assured of the very great pleasure and satisfaction I feel in being honoured with the charge of transmitting them.

I have the honour to be, with great respect,

Your very obedient humble servant,

JOHN FOSTER, Speaker.

Speaker's Chamber, October 6th, 1798.

The resolution of the Upper House was dated Die Sabbati, 6 Octobris, 1798, and was couched in identical terms.

Though the rebellion was nominally suppressed towards the close of the year, yet the whole country was in a state of alarm and disorganization, and there is little wonder that the North Gloucester and its brother regiments were besieged and almost overwhelmed with acknowledgements and thanks. Though they are somewhat lengthy, and will occupy some space, it may be worth while to quote some of the letters received from the authorities at this juncture:—

Downing Street, 24th November, 1798.

SIR,

The circumstances which induced the regiment of militia under your command to extend its services to Ireland are so recent, that, in addressing you upon the subject, I should not feel it necessary to recall them to your recollection, if I did not feel that I should not do justice to His Majesty's sentiments, if I omitted to acquaint you and the regiment with the impression of great and lasting satisfaction His Majesty derived from their zeal and public spirit at that arduous conjuncture.

It is impossible to revert to the difficulties we have had to contend with, and the dangers we have overcome in Ireland,

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1798. without acknowledging, in the warmest terms of gratitude, the eminent services rendered to His Majesty's Crown and the general security of the Empire, by the presence, uniform loyalty, and good conduct, of the English militia in that kingdom. The state of that country, however much improved since the period to which I have alluded, is still unfortunately such as to require the utmost coercion and vigilance to maintain internal tranquillity and guard against foreign invasion.

The spirit of rebellion, though repressed by the success of His Majesty's arms, is still prevalent in several parts of the country, and whilst so many concerned in it remain unreclaimed, either by the detection and confession of their leaders or by the proffered clemency of Government, it is to force alone that we can trust for the preservation of peace and the protection of the loyal part of His Majesty's subjects.

It is equally certain (and all the intelligence now before me warrants the opinion) that, while this unfortunate state of affairs continues to invite foreign invasion, one inveterate enemy, disregarding equally the lives of its own subjects, and the disasters which have befallen its late attempts, will persevere in its designs against Ireland.

Under these circumstances, His Majesty will feel it his indispensable duty to recommend without delay to the British Parliament to continue for some time longer the provisions of the Act of the last Session, by which His Majesty was enabled to avail himself of the voluntary offers of the English militia to extend their services to Ireland; and, in making this separate communication of his royal intention to you, I have the fullest confidence that it will find the North Gloucester regiment of militia actuated by the same laudable spirit to which the country is already so much indebted; and I rely on your making such communication of the same to the regiment as to prevent any possibility of the motives which still call for the exertion of that spirit being misunderstood.

As this Act, if not renewed, would expire in thirty days from the day on which Parliament meets, I shall be glad to receive an answer to this letter as soon as possible, it being very desirable that in making the intended communication to the two Houses of Parliament His Majesty should be enabled at the same time

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to convey to them the assurance that, considering the measure of the utmost importance to the safety of Ireland, he has the satisfaction to know that it meets the perfect concurrence of those who by their past exertions (offered and accepted upon the same principle) have so materially contributed to preserve to the sister kingdom the blessings of a constitution similar to our own. 1798.

I have the honour to be, Sir,
Your obedient humble servant,
HENRY DUNDAS.

To Colonel Kingscote,
Commanding the regiment of North Gloucester militia.

Dublin Castle, Dec. 1, 1798.

SIR,

I cannot transmit the enclosed letter from Mr. Secretary Dundas without requesting you will express to the officers and soldiers of the North Gloucester Regiment of Militia under your command the sense which I entertain of their exemplary and truly soldier-like conduct since the arrival of the regiment in this country, which I shall not fail to lay in the strongest terms before His Majesty, and I have a perfect confidence in their loyalty and in their zeal to promote the honour and interests of their King and country, and to disappoint the designs of the French government for destroying our happy constitution, and dismembering the British Empire by the separation of Ireland from Great Britain, that I feel the most perfect conviction that they will not desire to return to England until they can do it with the conscious satisfaction of having effectually secured this island from the dangers with which it is threatened from our foreign and domestic enemies.

I have the honour to be, Sir,
Your most obedient humble servant,
CORNWALLIS.*

* Lord Cornwallis, "who combined high reputation as a statesman and general with the requisite rank in the peerage," replaced Lord Camden as Lord Lieutenant, when, in 1798, it became advisable to appoint one who was competent to deal with the rebellion in a military point of view.

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1798. Thus urged, the North Gloucester regiment renewed their offer of service in Ireland, and received the following acknowledgments :—

DEAR SIR, Dublin Castle, Dec. 4th, 1798.

It is with the most heartfelt satisfaction that I have heard of the noble and patriotic conduct of the North Gloucester regiment in persevering to volunteer the offer of their services at a time that their continuance in this country is of such infinite importance to the safety and welfare of the British Empire.

I am, with very sincere regard,

Dear Sir, your very faithful humble servant,

CORNWALLIS.

To Colonel Kingscote, R. North Gloucester Militia.

SIR, Dublin Castle, December 13th, 1798.

I have received, through the Duke of Portland,* the King's gracious commands to signify to you the high sense which His Majesty will always entertain of the meritorious and distinguished services of the officers and men of the North Gloucester regiment of militia under your command; and that it is his royal pleasure that you do take the earliest opportunity of acquainting them that His Majesty will ever retain the most grateful remembrance of the zeal and liberality with which they have sacrificed their domestic comforts for the protection of their fellow-subjects and the general interests of the Empire.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your most obedient humble servant,

CORNWALLIS.

Colonel Kingscote,
Commanding North Gloucester regiment of militia.

In January, 1799, the North Gloucester and other English regiments again received the thanks of both the

* The third Duke of Portland, who was at this time Secretary of State, had himself been Viceroy of Ireland in 1782, and was twice Prime Minister. He died 1809.

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Irish Houses of Parliament, accompanied with very flattering expressions of praise and gratitude. 1798.

The following is the communication received from Lord Clare, the Irish Chancellor:—

SIR,

I have the honour to transmit to you the unanimous vote of thanks of the House of Lords of Ireland to the regiments of British militia and fencibles who have so honourably come forward to defend this country from her foreign and domestick enemies, and I am to request that you will have the goodness to communicate to the officers, non-commissioned officers, and privates of your regiment this well-merited testimony of the House of Lords to their faithful and essential service.

I am happy to embrace this opportunity of assuring you that I feel, in common with every loyal snbject of Ireland, the indelible gratitude which we owe to our fellow-subjects in Great Britain, who have so cheerfully relinquished their domestic habits and comforts to fight our battle in the day of imminent and unexampled peril; and that I am, with perfect truth and respect,

Your most obedient and very humble servant,

CLARE, Chancellor.

To Colonel Kingscote, &c., &c.

During this winter the strength of the regiment was very great. There were ten companies. The detail of the establishment was as follows, and it may be presumed to have been nearly complete: —

1 Colonel, with a Company.
1 Lieut.-Colonel, with a Company.
1 Major, with a Company.
1 Major, without a Company.
7 Captains, with Companies.
1 Captain-Lieutenant.
22 Lieutenants.
8 Ensigns.

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1799.

1 Adjutant.
1 Quarter-Master.
1 Surgeon.
1 Serjeant-Major.
1 Quarter-Master-Serjeant.
50 Serjeants.
50 Corporals.
22 Drummers.
1000 Privates.
2 Surgeon's Mates.

1171 Total officers and men.

In the spring of 1799 the North Gloucester returned to England. The winter had passed peaceably away; there had been no further attempt at invasion on the part of the French; whether they changed their opinion as to Ireland being the most vulnerable part of the British dominion, whether they found themselves badly supported on former occasions by the inhabitants, or were disheartened by want of success, may be left uncertain, but with the expectation of their arrival died away the hopes and attempts of the native insurgents. They had always built entirely upon French assistance, it incorporated itself with all their thoughts and aspirations, it is shadowed even in the national ballad literature of the day, and when it failed they submitted in despair. So the English regiments returned to their own country; the only casualty in the North Gloucester having been by the drowning of its adjutant, Lieutenant Savage, at Drogheda on April 4, 1799. The following paper is dated April 18 of that year:—

Adjutant-General's Office, Dublin.

Lord Cornwallis requests that the officers and soldiers of the North Gloucester regiment will accept his best acknowledgments

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for their good and soldier-like conduct during the period in which they have been placed under his command. The public spirit which they manifested in offering their services in this island, and the anxious desire which they expressed to come forward on all occasions of alarm and danger, will no doubt be highly acceptable to His Majesty, and entitles them to the esteem and gratitude of their country. 1799.

Signed SANDYS, Major of Brigade.

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CHAPTER VI.

The Royal North Gloucester from '98 to the Peace of Amiens.

1799. THE North Gloucester left Ireland in April, 1799, and spent the rest of that month in marching all across England into Sussex. By May 1 its head quarters had reached Arundel, and later they are found at Rye, with detachments at Hastings and Winchelsea, the grenadier company being at Canterbury; still later, and until the winter following, the regiment was quartered at Bexhill. In this year occurs the appointment of Sir B. W. Guise, Bart.,* to a company.

Shortly after their return to England the regiment received a further and much-valued mark of the approval with which their ready service in Ireland was viewed in their own county. It was presented with a handsome pair of colours by the Corporation of Gloucester, bearing the following inscription on the staff:—

> The gift of the Worshipfull Corporation of the City of Gloucester in remembrance of the regiment voluntarily serving in Ireland at the moment of a French invasion, Anno Domini 1798.
> Presented by the Most Noble Charles Duke of Norfolk.†

This welcome honour shown to the regiment by the chief city in their county was acknowledged by Colonel Kingscote in the following appropriate terms:—

SIR, Kingscote, May 5, 1799.

I am just made acquainted by Lieutenant-Colonel Howard with the flattering mark of attention which the Corporation of

* Sometime M.P. for Gloucester; died unmarried, 1834; uncle to Sir W. V. Guise, bart., the present Lieut.-Col. Commandant of the Royal South Gloucester Militia.

† Charles, eleventh duke, cousin to Lieut.-Col. H. Howard.

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Gloucester have been pleased to show my regiment, and I shall take the earliest opportunity of making known to it this distinguished favour, the most gratifying possible to a soldier. I hope, Sir, you will be so obliging as to communicate my most respectful acknowledgments to the gentlemen of the Corporation for this honourable testimony of their approbation; and at the same time assure them, that, if the regiment could ever allow itself to annex the idea of any value to its services in Ireland, it must arise from the estimation in which its conduct has been held by a body, who are at all times actuated by motives of the purest regard for the public welfare. 1799.

I have the honour to remain, with great respect,

Your most obedient humble servant,

R. KINGSCOTE,

Colonel R. N. G. Regiment.

Giles Greenaway, Esq., Deputy-Mayor.

The approaching union of Great Britain with Ireland was an event in which, after its service in the latter country, the North Gloucester took a somewhat special interest; for the regiment must have left behind it many a friend after so long a stay in that proverbially hospitable, though somewhat discontented, part of the kingdom. The new colours could have been hardly more than unfurled before they required alteration to mark the event; and in December 1799 they were forwarded to the Tower of London to receive the new national bearings, which, by order of His Majesty, were to indicate the union of the two countries into a "United Kingdom." On January 1, 1800, the troops were put under arms to celebrate that great national event, and the new flag was hoisted at all the castles, forts, and batteries along the coast of Kent at one o'clock precisely, when the firing of salutes commenced.

In the preceding months of July and October, Acts * had

* 39 George III. c. 106.
39 and 40 George III. c. 1.

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1799. been passed to enable the militia to volunteer into the line. This measure was suggested by the great success of the volunteering by regiments for Ireland, which had made such an impression upon the authorities that no time was lost in taking the means necessary to enable militiamen to volunteer into the line individually, and the result of this, the first step of the kind that had been taken, was the raising of a very large body of men, which was dispatched with the greatest expedition to the Helder. Commissions were offered in July to subalterns bringing sixty men; and between that month and November 1799 no less than 24,977 militiamen were draughted into the artillery, guards, and the seventeen regiments of the line then opened to volunteering. The North Gloucester furnished its full quota now, and, as we shall see, on many a subsequent occasion, its volunteers this time joining the 53rd and 56th regiments. No matters of inducement should be omitted from the record, and it must therefore be mentioned that the celebrated penny for beer-money * was granted on March 8, 1800, to commence from the 25th inst.

The regiment was now reduced, under the provisions of the last-mentioned statutes, to eight companies. From an establishment of 900, and an actual strength of 718 men, in September, it was reduced by discharges to a strength complete of 598 in November, and still further to a strength of only 466 in the following February. These reductions were an additional device to fill up the ranks of the line by throwing a large number of men out of employment; and to catch them on their discharge from the militia no money was spared, bounties going up on this occasion

* Beer had previously been issued in kind to soldiers on home service, but now a contingent allowance of the above amount was granted instead, and this has continued to the present day.

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to the famine price of 10*l.* 10*s.* for five years' service, or until six months after the conclusion of peace. 1799.

This is practically the end of a distinct period in the constitutional history of the militia, and brings us to a point which especially illustrates the question of the proper relation of the militia to the regular service.

In olden times, when there was little or no need of a standing army, before the days of Indian requirements or large colonial interests, a large half-drilled force, easily and locally raised, and always at hand against invasion or insurrection, was that best suited to the requirements of the nation. Such were the levies of the middle ages, and afterwards the militia. Raised as the latter was, in its modern sense, when England was perpetually embroiled in continental war, from that time, and especially when invasion happened to be a probability, say for the sake of a date until 1805, it was essential to maintain the militia as an independent and efficient force, and we have seen how for years of embodied service as a home defence it was most valuable. But, by the time the battle of Trafalgar had finally established the naval superiority of Great Britain, and invasion became improbable, the value of the militia was seen to lie in quite a different direction. Still an independent force in theory, it was found to become practically the one never-failing means of replacing the waste of war; it poured into the army hosts of its very best recruits.

Little availed the protests of militia officers and Lords-Lieutenants against an inevitable tendency of the times.* In this very year, 1799, at a meeting held in London, it was resolved unanimously, that the system of recruiting from the militia when embodied was destructive of the militia system, and degrading to all persons engaged in

* Annual Register, 1799.

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1799. that service, whilst another resolution only allowed that the raising of recruits from the militia "when disembodied," though infringing in some degree the militia system, was a step that, "in the present situation of the country," the meeting would support. It is possible that at first the prospect of invasion made it seem hazardous to weaken the militia, but necessity brooks no half-measures, and the legislature eagerly availed itself of the supply thus offered by an arm whose *raison d'être* was a different one altogether. The transfer of men from one service to the other was henceforth thankfully legalised by almost annual Acts of Parliament. Commencing with the large draughts of the year 1799, in the course of the next fifteen years we shall find that the militia supplied an enormous number of men to the ranks of the regular army, not less than 100,000 in the decade from 1805 to 1815, not a tithe of whom could have been drawn direct from the general population, and we shall see how its own ranks were not less full and far better disciplined at the end of the war than at the beginning. The same use has been made of the militia in the wars of the present reign, and inevitably would be again if occasion arose. The conditions of modern warfare have probably rendered invasion permanently as much of an improbability now, as the naval superiority of Great Britain then did for the time, and the days and the value of the militia as an independent and distinct service, or rather as a force existing for its own sake only, have alike ended. On the outbreak of a new war it would become, what it has been from the year 1799, primarily a reserve of recruits for the line, and secondarily only a supplementary service of itself.

To return to the regiment. By the end of the year 1799 its head-quarters had got back to Hastings. Here we again find mention made of field-pieces being attached to the

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corps; they were managed by the flank companies. By a general order dated at this time, it was directed that the regiments of the line in the Southern District should be furnished with two field-pieces each, which, with the ammunition waggons, were constantly to remain with them, and not less than 40 men of each regiment were to be kept constantly "trained to the exercise of the great guns." 1799.

The head-quarters were a little later moved to Bexhill again, and there remained till the end of May 1800, when the regiment marched in three divisions to Shorncliffe; and shortly afterwards four companies were sent to Dover Castle. In the same month it was inspected by Lord Charles Somerset,* and received the highest commendations.

GENERAL ORDER.

May 13th. 1800.

Major General Lord Charles Somerset, desires to express, in the highest terms possible, his approbation of the steadiness and soldierlike appearance of the North Gloucester regiment under arms, both on the parade and in the field this day, particularly their great attention in the manœuvres, in which the greatest praise is due both to officers and men.

Their cleanliness in dress, and the good condition of their arms and accoutrements, he also expresses his highest approbation of; and he will take the earliest opportunity of reporting to Lieutenant-General Hulse the high state and condition of the regiment, which cannot fail to give the highest satisfaction.

Except for a few weeks at Dover, the head-quarters remained at Shorncliffe during the summer and autumn of 1800, doing routine duty. In October Lieutenant-General Hulse himself inspected the regiment. It was directed to be "in marching order with the field-pieces,"

* Lord Charles Somerset was brother to Lord W. G. H. Somerset, Major in the R. N. G. M.—See Chapter VIII, anno 1809, *note*.

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1800. which were now evidently considered a part of the regular regimental equipment. The Lieutenant-General was lavish of his praise and terms of approval on all those points on which a General's approval has value.

Whilst ordinary garrison duty is being carried on throughout the winter of 1800-1, a general view of some military details of the period will not be out of place.

One generation speedily forgets that which preceded it; nay the latter part of one generation has but a dim recollection of its earlier period. Looking back from the present date to the commencement of the century, it can scarcely be denied that, comparatively short as the interval is, it has obliterated most of the minor details of life surrounding the men of that day; our ways are not as their ways, nor our thoughts as their thoughts; dress, manners, habits, and ideas, are essentially different; nothing evinces this more strongly than the particulars gathered from the regulations, rules, and manners of regimental life. To begin with the punishments in vogue at that period, the lash appears to have been unsparingly used; it was inflicted for offences for which in modern days but little penalty would be awarded; a few instances may be given:—

For absence from barracks for one night a private is sentenced to 200 lashes.

For receiving some money, knowing it to be stolen, to "700 lashes on his bare back."

For participation in the same offence to 500 lashes.

For stealing a "hatt" (*sic*) to 300 lashes.

For being absent from roll-call, and remaining out of barracks the whole night, also disposing of necessaries, to 250 lashes.

For being absent from barracks at tattoo-beating, to 150 lashes.

For pawning the shirt of a comrade, and a pewter pot, to 300 lashes.

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For "unsoldierlike conduct," to 400 lashes. 1800.

For running away from the hospital, and being absent for five months without leave, to 700 lashes. In this case the man named John Lloyd, to evade the punishment, cut his throat with a razor in front of the assembled regiment.

For discharging his musket in the public street, to 200 lashes.

For having intercourse with the French prisoners, and contracting debts with them contrary to orders, to 300 lashes. In this case the punishment actually inflicted was 296 lashes.

For absence from two parades, and also being seen many miles from his quarters contrary to orders, to 500 lashes

For quitting his post while sentry, to 600 lashes.

For being out of quarters at half-past two o'clock in the morning, and having in his possession a quantity of straw in four bundles, and a sack, which he was supposed to be carrying to the French prison, to 500 lashes: the punishment inflicted was 400.

For being drunk while on guard, to 200 lashes.

To this long list might be added many more, all of which occurred in the North Gloucester regiment towards the beginning of the present century. It is true that the sentences were not always carried fully into effect, but in many cases the whole punishment was inflicted.

Amongst the courts-martial of the period is a somewhat singular one. It is difficult now to imagine an officer being tried for such an offence as endeavouring to save a few pence in postage. Ensign ——— of a south-country regiment was charged with—

Scandalous and infamous behaviour unbecoming an officer and a gentlemen, in contriving to defraud his Majesty's revenue, and to abuse the indulgence granted by the legislature to the non-commissioned officers and soldiers while employed on service, by writing and sending a letter by the General Post Office, on the outside whereof his own name and the name of the corps

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1801. were endorsed, for the purpose of its being passed at a low rate of postage, as the letter of a non-commissioned officer or private; and in intimating, in a postscript in the same letter, that the next letter for him, the said Ensign ———, should be addressed to a private soldier, for the like purpose of its being passed at a low rate of postage.

He was acquitted of "scandalous and infamous behaviour," but convicted of "improper and reprehensible conduct," and sentenced to be reprimanded in general orders, the reprimand to be read at the head of every regiment in the south-west district.

Passing to matters of a more trivial character, how strange to modern eyes is the dress, both civil and military, of two generations ago. The men of that day appear to have been affected by a mania for an equestrian style. Breeches and boots pervaded all society. In regimental orders we find they are to be worn on certain days, "Thursdays," "Field-days," and especially on "Sundays." In 1801 officers were directed to provide "a good long coat and a cocked-hat for reviews," and generally, many and oft-repeated regulations were laid down as to dress. About this time the use of "hats" was abolished in the army. This, however, must not suggest any idea of the round hats of the modern day. The hat of our forefathers was triangular and trilateral, furnished with sides or flaps, which could be looped up or let down at the pleasure of the wearer, a fashion of hat which is now peculiar to state-coachmen on drawing-room days, and Her Majesty's judges.

A cockade was the only distinction of the hat military. In bad weather or for the purpose of disguise the flaps could be let down round the face, presenting a most uncouth spectacle.

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It is the "beaver" of the ballad— 1801.

> Cock up your beaver, and cock it fu' sprush,
> We'll over the border and give them a brush;
> Hey Johnny lad, cock up your beaver.

But, though the army at large were relieved from the infliction of this pent-house, it was not so with the officers, for "field and staff officers, and also the officers of battalion companies," were ordered to wear "hats" as usual. Amongst the men the chief object of anxiety must have been the pigtail, if any judgment may be drawn from the prominent place which this appendage occupies in regimental order-books. Officers are directed to see that "it be properly tied;" men were commanded to treat it as Isaak Walton directs his angler to treat the impaled frog, "as though they loved it." Lamentations are made over the shabby look of the tails when "the varnish is rubbed off," and serjeants are peremptorily ordered to "get varnish, and see that every one of his company is properly furnished with it." "Heel-ball" (whatever that may be) is denounced as "not proper," and therefore must not be used, "as it cracks and breaks off." The men are severely cautioned against pulling and damaging each other's pigtails. At one time hair-powder was ordered to be "combed through them lightly," but afterwards the use of powder was forbidden. It is difficult to comprehend the reason why this deformity was cherished both in the army and the navy. In both it has long been utterly obsolete. But it is needless and useless to dwell longer upon the differences, sometimes minute sometimes important, between the observances of the earlier and the later day.

Returning to the regiment at Shorncliffe; the spring and summer of 1801 will be long remembered for the prepara-

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1801. tions made on the other side of the Channel for the invasion of England, and on this for resistance to it. From the beginning of the year the intention of the French government had been apparent. A large army was mustered on the heights at Boulogne, and the harbour and adjoining parts of the coast were occupied by a large flotilla to convey and co-operate with the army. There was no want of diligence on the English side. Lord Nelson by sea, and a large land force, chiefly of militia, watched the coast. The North Gloucester marched into Dover on June 26, 1801, and was quartered in the Castle.

All records show that the landing of a French force was daily and nightly expected, and the same records show that brave and disciplined men were ready to meet it. Let us quote an order of the day :—

Dover, July 6, 1801.

Lieut.-General Hulse desires to express, in the highest terms, his approbation of the very soldier-like appearance and steady conduct of the North Gloucester regiment in the field this day, particularly the regular formation of the line, as also the rapid movement of each manœuvre, which reflects on them the highest credit, and he assures them he will take the earliest opportunity of reporting the same to His Royal Highness the Duke of York.

Colonel Kingscote is found appending to this order the expression of his own satisfaction at its terms, and, in consequence of it, excusing all those who were at punishment drill from further attendance at it.

A general order of July 21 directed that three officers and 100 rank and file should form a picquet in the neighbourhood of the Castle from sunset till an hour after daybreak, and that a detachment with one officer should patrol on the sea-beach from 10 o'clock at night till 4 o'clock in the morning. The regimental order of the same day, July 21, 1801, details one captain, two subalterns, four

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serjeants, and 100 rank and file, of the North Gloucester, 1801.
for the evening's picquet duty.

Seems it but a little matter that a poor militia subaltern should be sent to wander on the sea-beach at night, with a score or so of men as cold and sleepy as himself? Yet let us think a little, and endeavour to imagine for a moment what the thought of that lonely youth may have been during the summer's night. Let the imagination conjure up the most sensational position that it can suggest, and will it surpass the reality of the hour to a young and probably inexperienced soldier, when expecting and listening for the first thud of the oar, or the first gleam of the sail, which was to announce that the Titanic strength of one great kingdom, the greatest then in Europe, was hurled with all its appalling consequences against the breast of its only real rival in power? How his eye would peer into the sea-mist, or glance from the foam at his feet, to catch the first gleam of the dawn in the east, which would not only relieve his anxious watch, but delay the approach of an enemy for another day. The reader may smile, but some such picture as this would be no dream of the fancy; the dread uncertainty was a reality, in days when science had not yet annihilated distance. The raising of the leading boat's anchor might now perhaps be known in London before its crew had left the shelter of the batteries at Boulogne; but then the subaltern, whose turn of duty took him to the shore on a night darker than the rest, might, wandering in advance of his men, for all he or the comrades he left at their mess knew, announce at the cost of his life the arrival of the dreaded invader. It may help us to realise the vivid apprehension then felt of a night surprise, if we are told that it was the firm belief of the soldiers that cattle grazing in the marshes by the seaside were carried off on dark nights by armed French boat parties. But the

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1801. summer months passed into autumn, and the invader came not; and now there was a lion in the path, for Nelson was in the Channel with the fleet.

At break of day on Tuesday, August 4, 1801, the North Gloucester having furnished the outlying picquet on the beach that night, Nelson, who had for some time been hovering in the narrow seas, made an attack on Boulogne, and the armed French flotilla lying in the harbour. The booming and flash of the guns were distinctly heard and seen from the esplanade of Dover Castle, but the result was unknown until the following day. It was then learnt that the attack had been a "coup manqué," for the French vessels were found to be so well furnished with strong wire-netted gratings and iron bars, that all attempts at boarding were impossible. In one word, Nelson did not succeed in the attempt, but the French version of the matter is as follows:—

Combat naval entre l'Amiral Nelson et la flotille de Boulogne. *Les Français sont victorieux.*

And another account claims a still more complete victory, saying that Nelson—

Fit une premiere tentation pour incendier la flotille Française à Boulogne, et fut repoussé avec une grande perte en tués et blessés. Cet echec l'irritait singulierement, et d'autant plus qu'il avait en quelque sorte promis de detruire tout l'armement du port de Boulogne.

What took place was witnessed from a distance by an officer of the North Gloucester regiment,* who writes thus:—

In 1801 I was surgeon and ensign of the North Gloucester regiment, then stationed at Dover Castle. It may be necessary

* Dr. Filkin, who died in 1872 at the age of about 95.

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to say that in the militia the surgeon's pay, being only four shillings a day, was considered unremunerative unless a subaltern's commission and pay were allowed in addition. In this twofold capacity I served on the outlying picquet on the night of Monday, August 3, 1801, and had to patrol the sea-beach from sunset till the following morning, when, on returning to my quarters in the Castle, I could distinctly observe what was passing off Boulogne. I could see the smoke of Nelson's bombardment, and hear the booming of the cannon. After the wounded were brought to Deal, about seven miles from Dover, I went over to the hospital to see the cases. 1801.

The same officer subsequently mentions that he carried the King's colour into Cirencester on November 30, 1801, and delivered them up at the window of the Ram inn, in the market-place of that town, prior to the disembodiment of the regiment.

The French armament still therefore remained unbroken, and the expectation and probability of invasion was undiminished, as the orders of the day indicate.

GENERAL ORDER.

Dover Castle, Sept. 27, 1801.

On the alarm being given of the appearance of an enemy, the guards and picquets are immediately to stand to their arms when two signal guns are fired quick from the Castle, and the whole garrison will assemble as follows:—

The North Gloucester regiment in front of their barracks in the Castle.

The Northampton regt. in the Square round the Keep.

The cavalry and Dover volunteers on the Parade, near the Rope-walk.

The Sea-fencibles at Archcliff Fort;

And Captain Willard's artillery company at Guildford Fort Battery.

Nothwithstanding the imminent prospect of hard and real fighting, the authorities of the day held it not

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1801. inopportune to lecture the North Gloucester and some other regiments on their mode of marching and other minor faults of parade.

The Duke of York was a severe military critic, and insisted to the fullest extent on precision in drill. It must be allowed that when he assumed the chief command the British army was in a deplorable state of disorganization; and that whatever may have been his faults, and they met with severe criticism and perhaps hard measure at last, the improvement that marked his tenure of office was immense in every branch and department of the service. His comments on the deficiencies and shortcomings of some of the corps in the district are voluminous and minute.

> The General in Chief has remarked that there is a fundamental fault in the first principles of placing the men on their legs, that they are thrown off from their proper equilibrium by their shoulders being thrown back on a false principle, the consequence of which is, that they have not the proper use of their arms.
>
> His Royal Highness observes in matters of parade a want of uniformity of which he can by no means approve.
>
> Other errors of a much more serious and important nature were apparent in the cadence of the regiments' march, and consequently of their movement in the field. His Royal Highness observes that the march of two regiments, viz., the North Gloucester and Northampton militia, in the same garrison and even on the same parade, differs so materially, as to prevent the possibility of their acting together in line.
>
> In the North Gloucester regiment his Royal Highness observed that most of the officers were unprovided with sword knots, and on several occasions he had to remark that the mounted officers of various regiments were not in their proper places.

And much more to the like effect, some of which may seem more to savour of the drill-serjeant than the General

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officer; but everything shows that at that time there was nothing from the first principles of recruit drill upwards that did not stand in need of the attention of the highest authority. 1801.

However, about the middle of the month of October, it became apparent that the danger of invasion had passed away, that great political changes were taking place, and that the prospects of peace were near and well founded.

Under these circumstances many of the militia regiments were sent out of the Southern district. The North Gloucester marched from Dover on Friday, September 6; remained for a short time at Fairford, and finally marched into Cirencester on November 30, 1801, having been absent from their head-quarters for nearly ten years.

The winter of 1801-2 wore away, and spring found the regiment still lingering at Cirencester. It is difficult to say why it was kept together. The Government may have had latent misgivings, and may have felt reluctant to part with a force which had at all events done good watch and ward service. But there it remained, how employed the chronicles tell not. In those days conviviality was accounted the twin sister of hospitality. If the laurel leaf was in abeyance, other sources of consolation may have been found in so friendly a town and neighbourhood. No doubt there was many "a sound of revelry by night," and "what for no?" as remarks Mrs. Margery Dods in St. Ronan's Well. From a letter of one of the party, we may take the following amusing description of the regimental mess:—

On the 19th of December, 1801, Charles the eleventh Duke of Norfolk, cousin of Lieutenant-Colonel Henry Howard, M.P. for Gloucester, and Lieutenant-Colonel of the regiment, came to Cirencester, and dined at the mess of the North Gloucester regiment at the Ram Hotel, bringing with him Lieutenant-

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1802. Colonel Scudamore, M.P. for Hereford. The other guests were the Rev. Mr. Willes and Messrs. Joseph * and Edward Cripps. We dined them at four o'clock, and sat (Scudamore singing Morris's songs, &c.) till about eleven, when the Duke called up Tyler (the landlord) and said, "I hear you have some fine old rack (arrack), let us have some rack punch," and they remained singing and drinking till four o'clock a.m. on Sunday morning. The Rev. Mr. Willes went away at ten o'clock. The next morning (Sunday) the regiment paraded for Church at ten under the Abbey wall, and the Duke was there, not a bit the worse for the carousing on the previous night. He left that day, having to meet a party at dinner on Monday the 21st at Gloucester, an annual electioneering dinner."

The Peace of Amiens was signed on March 27, 1802, and, the services of the North Gloucester being no longer in requisition, the regiment was disembodied on April 23 in the same year, receiving in solemn form the thanks of the King and of both Houses of Parliament.

* M.P. for Cirencester from 1806-1841; grandfather to the compiler of these pages. Mr. Willes was perpetual curate of Cirencester.

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CHAPTER VII.

The Royal North Gloucester, from the the Peace of Amiens to 1808.

THE Cincinnati of the North Gloucester were not allowed long repose upon their laurels. The signing of the peace had been made the opportunity of laying before the House of Commons an outline of the plan which had been formed by the Government for the future and permanent regulation of the militia. This plan was shortly afterwards embodied in the Act of 42 George III. cap. 90,* which is the basis of the regulations under which the force has remained until the time of its modern reorganization under the auspices of the Government which came into office at the close of 1868, and had Mr. Cardwell as its Secretary for War. 1803.

The importance of the militia as an internal defence for the realm had now been tested by the experience of a long embodiment, and the value of its constant readiness for effectual service had been put to the proof. It was felt that the time had come for the augmentation and consolidation of the system on a permanent basis, suited to the requirements of existing times; and by this Act all former legislation was accordingly repealed and a general scheme adopted for training a certain proportion of the population of each county; to use the words of the Act itself, "a respectable military force under the command of officers possessing landed property" was to be enlisted for five years, and officered by persons with the above qualification, which has since, however, been done away with.

The quota for Gloucestershire was to be 1,163 men.

* See page 14.

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1803. War with France broke out again in the spring of 1803, little more than a year after peace had been made. On March 10 a royal message was delivered to Parliament by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, expressing His Majesty's desire of embodying and calling out the militia; and a second message, upon which the supplementary militia * was also enrolled, was sent down to the House in May.

The North Gloucester mustered at Cirencester on March 28, 1803.

Many a quiet country establishment was broken up, many a fireside put into confusion, much domestic and industrial machinery disjointed, to fill those ranks with the commanders and the commanded. Many of the former officers were still in their places, but fresh names appear, some of the best blood in Gloucestershire, Captain Sir Henry Cann Lippincott, bart.,† Captain Edward Lord de Clifford,‡ Captain Robert Blagden Hale § (father of the M.P. for West Gloucestershire), Captain Edward Webb, M.P. The nobles and squires of England took kindly to the camp, for better for worse; there was no delay; every arm was wanted at the coast; and on May 18 the regiment commenced its march to Portsmouth, viâ Cricklade and Swindon, to Andover and Winchester, arriving at Portsmouth in about a week. It took up its quarters at the Portsea Barracks, a large portion of the regiment being as

* An additional force, authorised by the same Act of Parliament as the militia itself, in certain cases of urgent danger.

† Sir H. C. Lippincott of Over Court, co. Gloucester, born 1776, heir through his mother of the ancient family of Cann, baronets, of Westbury, co. Gloucester.

‡ Edward twenty-first Baron de Clifford, born 20 June, 1767, married February, 1789, Mary, second daughter of Joseph third Earl of Mayo, but died s. p. 30 September, 1832.

§ R. B. Hale, esq., of Alderley, co. Gloucester, married, 1807, Lady Theodosia, daughter of Joseph third Earl of Mayo, a sister of Lady de Clifford; died 1855.

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yet unsupplied with any uniform, except their caps and pigtails. The South Gloucester regiment, under Colonel the Earl of Berkeley, marched to Portsmouth at the same time, and appear to have done duty alternately with the North. 1803.

Here both regiments came under the command of one who, for good or for evil, obtained so much subsequent celebrity, General Whitelocke.*

The establishment of the North Gloucester was as follows:—

1 Colonel (Kingscote).
1 Lieutenant-Colonel.
1 Major.
7 Captains.
8 Lieutenants.
6 Ensigns.
1 Adjutant.
1 Quarter-Master.
1 Surgeon.
1 Serjeant-Major.
1 Quarter-Master Serjeant.
23 Serjeants.
23 Corporals.
1 Drum-Major.
15 Drummers.
465 Privates.

There were seven companies at the time of the embodiment, but in the course of the spring another company was added, and the number of privates was increased to 483, with the addition of two lieutenants, one captain, one serjeant, and one corporal, with three drummers. In the month of June it was decided to make a still further

* General Whitelocke was brought to a court martial after the unsuccessful attack on Buenos Ayres in 1807, and was cashiered, although it appeared that his advisers had been principally to blame in the matter.

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1803. increase in the establishment, and it was enlarged, as under, to ten companies, with—

1	Colonel.
1	Lieut.-Colonel.
2	Majors.
10	Captains.*
12	Lieutenants.
8	Ensigns.
1	Adjutant.
1	Quarter-Master.
1	Surgeon.
1	Serjeant-Major.
1	Quarter-Master Serjeant.
39	Serjeants.
39	Corporals.
1	Drum-Major.
22	Drummers.
790	Privates.
930	Total Officers and Men.

What can it be that relieves and renders endurable the long and dreary routine of regimental life, even to men who have elsewhere, if they chose to avail themselves of them, a thousand sources of pleasure and excitement? One thing is, it is always to be hoped, a feeling that they are filling a place, and the right place, in life, and this is more peculiarly the case in a militia regiment, where nine-

* Field-officers ceased to hold companies in 1803, but the "non-effective" allowance of 20*l.* a year was continued to the officers so removed.

The history of this allowance is connected with the amount of a captain's pay at the present day, 11*s.* 7*d.* per diem. That allowance, which had been made from the time of the Pay Office Act in 1783 to Captains, was discontinued in 1824, and instead thereof an addition of 1*s* 1*d.* per diem was made to their pay, making it the above sum from 10*s.* 6*d.*

In this latter year too a fixed allowance was granted to officers commanding companies to cover expenses and losses, their liability having been previously covered by pay drawn for "a contingent man." This is the present "contingent allowance."

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teen officers (and men) out of twenty have another position, civil or domestic, for the time made subordinate to, and which must often suffer for the sake of, the one they have assumed. Another in all probability is the indefinite and vague sensation that something may happen, and will happen, which will occasion service, and develope energy. They are there "advienne que pourra," and there is always the latent hope and secret longing that the unknown possible occasion may arise. Were it not for these feelings "les jours se succedent et se ressemblent," till they would become intolerable. Little diversity occurs for months, nay for years. But the time is not wasted; men learn to know each other, and to know where dependence may be placed, and where it must be withheld, and nothing can be of greater value in all military service than this, whilst days and years roll on with a regiment, and to the outward eye nothing is changed. 1803.

The North Gloucester remained many months at Portsmouth sharing in the ordinary garrison duty. The militia regiments assembled at the same place were the South Gloucester, Hereford, Worcester, Flintshire, Merioneth, and Carmarthen; and in the month of August the whole garrison was reviewed by H. R. H. the Duke of York, and subsequently by H. R. H. the Prince of Wales. Stringent directions as to patrolling and watching the coast, arresting all persons who have "evidently the appearance of foreigners," and allowing no boats to approach without being immediately reported, were mingled with equally stringent orders to officers to inspect the men's new pigtails, and return every one "unless they are made according to pattern;" and denunciations of the habit of non-commissioned officers and privates selling vegetables in barracks, which seems to have been considered as profoundly demoralising. See the order:—

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1803. Head Quarters, Portsmouth, G. O., June 25th, 1803.

It having been represented to Major-General Whitelocke that a practise exists of non-commissioned officers and soldiers selling vegetables and other articles in barracks, he considers it to be his duty at once to express his marked disapprobation of every kind of traffic amongst soldiers in times like the present. There can be no want of occupation for either the mind or body of those engaged in military pursuits, let their station be what it may. Whatever, therefore, has a tendency to divert the attention from objects of so much magnitude should be checked, and every possible encouragement given, on the contrary, in whatever is calculated to improve the military habit both in officers and soldiers, and induce them to think highly, indeed enthusiastically, of the profession in which they are engaged. These ideas, matured in the mind, will not only render the duty of a military life pleasing, but will at the same time greatly contribute to the security of the country.

Surely after this cabbages and turnips must have hidden their diminished heads!

A portion of the regiment was stationed this autumn at Cumberland Fort, and was employed on the works there, and in keeping guard over the convicts in the hulks off that spot, but sometimes extra duty sprang up, as when the North Gloucester supplied a detachment to escort 250 prisoners of war to Uxbridge on October 4, 1803. Soon after this a tragic incident occurred, which must have cast a gloom over the garrison. A young officer of the North Gloucester, Lieutenant Guisè,* belonging to one of the first families in the county, unfortunately lost his life in the execution of his duty. How, the records say not, but there is reason to believe that he was drowned by falling into the water when going the rounds at night.

* Lieutenant Christopher Wm. Guise, fifth son of Sir John Guise, bart., of Highnam, co. Gloucester. There is a tablet to his memory in the Portsmouth Garrison Chapel.

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He was buried on October 19 with military honours, the whole garrison attending the funeral. Not less tragic, though an incident of a different character, was the death of Stephen Carrol, a soldier of the 70th regiment, who was shot in presence of the assembled garrison for the crime of desertion, the occasion calling forth a long warning from General Whitelocke. The execution took place on December 6, 1803. 1804.

In March, 1804, the North Gloucester left Portsmouth and marched to Silverhill Barracks, taking about a week upon the journey, through Chichester, Arundel, and Lewes.

The following civilian testimony is found speaking for its character whilst at Portsmouth :—

SIR, Portsmouth, March 7, 1804.

I have great pleasure in transmitting to you the unanimous thanks which were voted yesterday, at a meeting of the Mayor and magistrates of this Borough, to the officers and men of the North Gloucester regiment under your command, for their very orderly and exemplary conduct during the time they have been quartered here, and I have to request that you will be pleased to convey the same to them in such manner as you may think proper.

I have the honour to be, Sir,
Your most obedient humble servant,
GEO. CUTHBERT, Mayor.

To Colonel Kingscote,
North Gloucester Regiment.

They remained at Silverhill through the summer, and the usual routine of parades and inspections of course went on. On one of these the corps is ordered to parade in cloth breeches, except "the light company, who are to wear leather breeches." (How did they do their skirmishing?)

On every occasion of inspection the regiment is mentioned in the highest terms of commendation, and on one

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1804. occasion Lieut.-Colonel Darling says that "the report" (which nevertheless spoke very favourably) "has in his opinion fallen short of what it deserved." And such a state of discipline and training was necessary. The expectation of invasion was still hanging like a dark cloud over the country. One of the orders of the day says that—

> The preparations of the enemy with a view to the invasion of this country have not in the smallest degree relaxed; on the contrary, it is understood that they have of late been carried on with redoubled vigour, and that the attempt, in all probability, will soon be made.

There can be no doubt that the regiment was fully prepared to take its part in case of any such contingency. Its strength during this year had gradually increased to nearly 1,400 men, and it was composed, both as to officers and men, of the very flower of the county of Gloucester. Concurrent testimony shows that it was considered at least equal to any other militia regiment whatever.

But let us go for a while a little way beyond the Silverhill Barrack gates to see for ourselves whether all these preparations were the outcome of a national scare, or whether on the other hand they were not provisions only adequate to the gravity of the occasion; and if, for such a purpose, anyone had crossed from the North Gloucester's quarters in a fishing or coasting vessel to within sight of the French shore opposite, what would he have seen? He would have seen the flotilla destined for the invasion still daily, nay hourly, increasing at Boulogne,* the common place of rendezvous; for, however watchful and intrepid the conduct of the British cruisers, it was found impossible, with every exertion of the most consummate skill and bravery, to

* From the Annual Register for the year 1804.

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prevent small divisions of the French gun-boats from stealing along the coasts, protected as well by their small draught of water as by the powerful batteries erected wherever an opportune situation presented itself, or forming a junction at the above-named port, and their numbers had now become truly formidable. He would have seen, too, the army destined for the same purpose encamped on the heights commanding the town and harbour of Boulogne, now increased to upwards of 100,000 men, perfectly disciplined, under the command of the best officers of France, and constantly exercised in embarking and relanding in and from the flotilla, with a view of perfecting them in the great object of their destination. 1804.

With such a sight in his remembrance our comrade must return to his quarters at Silverhill, and in the month of September move with his corps to the camp at Pett Castle, and whilst there stationed employ himself in digging trenches and throwing up works to impede the enemy if he should land. The regiment was engaged in this useful occupation till October. If the order-books may be believed, the popular opinion as to nuts and rabbits, those two objects of universal pursuit, being common property and open to the finder, was not less prevalent then than now, for their appropriation by the men is severely denounced. Perhaps it was to remove them from these serious temptations that they were moved to Steyning Barracks.

It was on October 31, 1804, that the regiment left Pett Camp, in three divisions, for Steyning, starting on successive days, and the men marching in "white uniform, waistcoats and long trousers." The 14th and 69th regiments took over the duties performed by the North Gloucester, and that corps appears to have taken up its new ones on November 5, stationing two of its outposts on Woolstonbury and

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1805. Chanctonbury Hills respectively, amongst the highest spots, as it is well known, on the South Downs, and commanding the most extensive prospects perhaps in the South of England. Shortly after their arrival they were inspected by Major-General Lennox, the order of the day specifying that "the men's hair must be well tyed, and the powder lightly combed through, but not to show." The same difficulty as to the distinction between *meum* and *tuum* which occurred at the last station again cropped up here, there being a most stringent order issued against depredations in the turnip fields, distance apparently being no safeguard to their contents, as it is mentioned that fields as much as a mile from the barracks had been robbed by the men. The severity of the sentences passed by courts-martial is still a noticeable feature, as it had been in previous years, dealing with the French prisoners being not unfrequently the crime charged. Stealing faggots from the baker is also severely commented on in orders, and it may not be uninteresting to mention here, *apropos* to the baker, that the contract price paid for the bread supplied to the troops in Sussex was at this time ten pence and seven-sixteenths for the loaf of four pounds.

Notwithstanding the threatening aspect of affairs, furloughs were granted, and a captain of the day was dispensed with during the winter. Much more attention seems to have been paid to the internal peace and quiet of the barracks and the village than to the vigilance of the watch upon the coast. Nothing varied from day to day but the *parole*, and an inspection on April 2, 1805, by Major-General Earl Craven, was probably the greatest excitement of the spring, waking the regiment up from its winter lethargy: the order-books for days before teemed with notes of preparation, one of which, as on the last

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occasion, was to the effect that "not the least grain of powder is to be allowed on the hair," and another, that "the officers must be provided with gaiters and white breeches according to regulation." It may be difficult for the North Gloucester man of the present day to picture to himself what his grandfather looked like, parading in his pigtail, and with his flint-locked Brown Bess, a weapon which we are prone to think of as only slightly less dangerous to friend than foe; but let him turn to the orders issued from the head-quarters at Bexhill, on May 10 of this year, and read what might, for all our pride in scientific skirmishing and arms of precision, be an extract from the newest edition of the Field and Rifle Exercises. General-officers were directed to see that the men were well instructed— 1805.

In the exercise and movements of light troops, and that in examining and crossing a country they are taught to advance with caution, and to avail themselves of every advantage the ground affords towards concealing their movements and protecting them in fire.

They must also be instructed in the duties of outposts and patrols, in their practice of which the greatest precautions against surprise or being cut off from their inner posts and corps of support are to be taken, and pointed out to the officers, non-commissioned officers, and privates.

When a battalion, company, or squad is out at exercise and ordered to fire, the officer or non-commissioned officer commanding will, previous to the preparation or caution, point out some object for the men to fire at, and, after the *present*, will see that their men take good *aim* (shade of Brown Bess attend!) at the object before they go through the motion of drawing the trigger. It is recommended frequently to divide a battalion, company, or squad at exercise, and in the firings to order the divisions to aim at each other between the lower part of the jacket and the breastplate, taking up various distances, and placing the divisions alternately on high and low ground and to

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1805. right and left. As in all intersected countries battalion companies must frequently be called upon to act as light infantry, it is also recommended that they should be taught the exercise and movements of light troops, and consequently the established signals of the bugle.

Occupied with these and such like exercises, and with their daily repetition only broken by a brigade day, now under the command of Lieutenant-General Don, and then under Lord Craven, the regiment came to May 1805, when the route was received for Bristol, for which new quarter, at which it was destined to make a somewhat lengthened stay, it marched in two divisions on May 30, the second division under the command of Colonel Kingscote. Each division started on its named morning at 4 a.m. for Petworth, after which nothing is heard of it, except from the issue of a weekly state, which shows that the head-quarters had got as far as Petersfield, in Hampshire, on June 2, until the whole regiment is found taking up its duty at Bristol on June 8, sharing it with the South Devon, 2nd Salop, and the Carmarthen regiments of militia, and the Usk volunteers; the day's guard consisted of a captain, four subalterns, and 179 non-commissioned officers and men, and it was found as a rule by the above regiments in turn. The principal duty performed by the troops was guarding the large military prison at Stapleton, then occupied by prisoners of war, and escorting those prisoners to and fro, sometimes to Bristol for shipment abroad, and at other times to Stapleton from other inland places, such as Wells or Taunton.

The death of Major-General Magan, while in command of the Severn District, in the summer of this year, occasioned the whole of the duty of the district to fall for a short time on the North Gloucester and 2nd Salop regiments, whilst the Carmarthen and South Devon, "on

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account of their greater knowledge of his gentleman-like liberality and military talents," marched from Bristol to Bath, "in order to render the last tribute of respect to the remains of their much-respected Major-General;" and this occasion drew from the Lieutenant-General so flattering a notice, not only of those militia regiments, but of the volunteer contingent present at the funeral, that it may be quoted as a stimulus, if any be required, to the spirit of emulation in the breasts of the volunteers of a later generation. 1805.

DISTRICT ORDER.

Head Quarters, Severn District, July 16, 1805.

The report made to the Lieutenant-General of the soldier-like and handsome appearance of the Royal Carmarthen and South Devon regiments on the late melancholy occasion, gives him sensible satisfaction; and he returns the officers and privates his particular thanks for their conduct.

But to the volunteers, as per margin, who so becomingly evinced their military alacrity as well as their true English feeling, in coming unsolicited in such respectable numbers, and from such distances, at this season of the year, in order to testify their veneration for Major-General Magan's professional character, the Lieut.-General begs leave to offer his most direct acknowledgements and cordial approbation, as he is firmly convinced that such sentiments and actions are directed by hearts which respect virtue, and will honourably defend the national character, if the circumstances of the country require a more extended scale of action.

Bristol Cavalry.
Bath do.
Winterborne do.
R. B. Artillery, and Infantry.
Bath Infantry.

Later in this year came the stirring news from head-quarters that must have been expected almost daily, and that for the time put an end to all furlough and holiday making, except for the pressing necessity of the corn harvest, when a proportion of those men who were to a

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1805. certain degree perfect in their exercise were allowed to work in the fields, but only in the immediate vicinity of the camp, and on the condition that on the slightest alarm every man should repair forthwith to his company.

Napoleon Buonaparte, now crowned Emperor, was at the very zenith of his power and aggrandisement; "the army of England," as it was called, was ready at Boulogne; and on August 8 it was signified to the troops that His Majesty's Government learned that the enemy intended speedily to make his attempt to invade this island, and the following order was issued at Bristol:—

Head Quarters, Severn District, Aug. 9, 1805.

In consequence of the information received from His Majesty's Government that, from the preparations of the enemy, an attempt to invade this island may be immediately expected, the Lieutenant-General under these circumstances does not feel himself authorized to grant leave of absence to any of the officers belonging to regiments in the Severn District until further orders; those officers who are now absent on leave are to be immediately written to to hold themselves in readiness to join at a moment's notice and upon the first alarm.

By order of Lieutenant-General Tarleton.*

Signed, M. Power, A. A. G.

These orders had, however, hardly been issued, when his urgent necessities on the Danube obliged Napoleon to break up the army at Boulogne for the operations on that river, which resulted in the victory of Austerlitz. The removal of the active seat of the war to a scene further distant from our coast, though the result might be the still

* General Tarleton was a most distinguished officer; he had mainly contributed to the victories of Lord Cornwallis in America, and was so popular that he was returned to Parliament for Liverpool in 1790 free of expense.

He sat for that borough in three subsequent Parliaments, took a conspicuous part in military debates, and was created a baronet in 1818.

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greater aggrandizement of the French arms, lessened the danger of invasion of our own island; but for some months everything in England still betokened diligent preparation for any service that might be needed. Constant parades and field-days, practice with ball-cartridge, and a still larger expenditure of blank ammunition, led up to an autumn inspection in October by General Tarleton, and it would seem that the time had not been wasted, for the troops were informed that their pointed and praiseworthy attention to every part of their duty on this occasion deserved the commanding officer's best thanks to all officers and men, and this opinion was coincided in by Major-General Champagne (General Magan's successor), who issued an order to the effect that "his opinion of their military appearance and truly soldierlike conduct most perfectly coincided with the approbation so justly bestowed on them by that distinguished officer, Lieut.-General Tarleton." 1805.

On this occasion the regiment appeared in new clothes, each man with twelve rounds of blank cartridge, grenadiers in their dress-caps, tailors, bâtmen, officers' servants, and men of every description, fully accoutred, fell in with their companies, the officers in "white small clothes and gaiters."

In the midst of all this routine of preparation (and be it remembered that daily details—*toujours perdrix*—cannot be otherwise than oft-times very wearisome, especially when a regiment is far from the excitement of "the front,") it may be imagined with what enthusiasm the news of the battle of Trafalgar was received. This great victory had been won only four days before the review for which the regiment had made such successful preparation, and the tidings were still of course unknown at Bristol.

It is curious that the only note in the regimental records of the most splendid naval action of the war and of modern

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1806. times is an order for church parade at the usual hour on December 5, 1805, it "being the day appointed by His Majesty for a general thanksgiving for the late victory over our enemies."

The times have changed if many a Gloucestershire mother did not thank Providence more devoutly than did her perhaps scapegrace son in the militia, that the danger, which was then a very present one to every English home, was lessened, if not removed.

However much the fear of actual invasion was calmed, as it must have been by this signal proof that England was indubitably mistress of the seas, and the feeling that the fleet was an invincible line of defence against the Boulogne or any other flotilla, domestic preparations were not relaxed; and at the inspection in the following spring Major-General Champagne again expressed in the highest terms his approval of the appearance of the North Gloucester in the field on April 22, 1806, and assured them "that the state and discipline of the corps is such that warrants his making the handsomest report to both Lieutenant-General Tarleton and H. R. H. the Commander in Chief."

From this time duty ran its usual course, shared now between the North Gloucester, the Glamorgan, the West Middlesex, and the Carmarthenshire regiments, the latter, however, leaving Bristol in May, and being replaced by the Rutland. Evening parades were not unusual, and for these, and on Sundays especially, the regiment is found parading, "three deep in open column of half companies," on the ground outside the Clifton turnpike at 7 p.m., the officers attending in white small-clothes and black gaiters."

The Royal West Middlesex were replaced by the Wiltshire in August; and, as in other years, steady men were allowed to go harvesting, those men being preferred "who

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had not yet had that indulgence, the Colonel being anxious 1806.
that every man who had behaved well should have an equal chance of the good wages to be earned." About the same time we find that no drums were to beat nor bands to play in the city of Bristol during the summer assizes, one of many notes showing that military influence was carefully guarded against, not only on these occasions, but also at election times, when troops were always removed from the scene of the contest, at all events for the polling days. One other order may be quoted to show from the expressions of Colonel Kingscote that the occurrence it refers to was a most unusual one in the case of such a disciplined corps as the Royal North Gloucester.

The Colonel is extremely displeased with the conduct of many of the men, who in the most unsoldierlike manner discharged their firelocks in the streets yesterday, September 8, and could not suppose that anyone in his regiment would have been guilty of such an unmilitary proceeding, which the rawest recruit would not have done: it reflects the highest disgrace upon the corps, and draws down the severest censure.

In this month too, and whilst the command at Bristol had devolved upon Colonel Kingscote in the absence of Major-General Champagne on leave, troubles occurred at the Stapleton prison in consequence of great irregularities in regard to the French prisoners detained there. The guards were ordered to be augmented, and the Lieutenant-General exhorted the officers of the militia brigade, "a brigade which would do honour to any service," to perform their duty with special attention and exactness, and he commented upon the loss of reputation that would result from any default in the performance of duties so responsible as the charge of a large body of prisoners of war. In order to prevent any designs of the prisoners, more frequent patrols were ordered, and other stringent measures adopted,

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1807. and these were not unnecessary precautions, for it is clear from the courts-martial that improper traffic had become rife between the soldiers on guard and the prisoners, and many a well-earned flogging was received for cheating the poor prisoners under the show of selling articles of clothing on their behalf. The danger of any dealing whatever is shown in an order calling on the men—

> In the most pointed manner not to sell or exchange their old great coats or any part of their cloathing (although from length of time it may have become their own property) to the prisoners, as under the disguise of military dress they may make their escape, and thereby bring disgrace and punishment on the men on duty over the prisoners of war.

It is more agreeable to find that on Her Majesty the Queen's birthday in the following year, January 19, 1807, Major-General Champagne expressed once more his great satisfaction at the "appearance of the North Gloucester under arms, and also at the three excellent volleys fired in honour of the day."

But the sojourn of the regiment at Bristol was now drawing to a close, and after a final inspection, this time be it noted the officers "in blue pantaloons," it received a "route" for Plymouth, having been stationed at Bristol for nearly two years. The first division under Major Adey started on March 31 for Wells and Bridgwater, and the second, under Major Larton, through Wells, Somerton, Langport, and Curry Rivell, the men marching in white jackets, and dressing again in red when they arrived at quarters. The regiment was located in Stonehouse Barracks, and duty was commenced at Plymouth on April 11, 1807.

Nothing happened for the next three months worthy of note except an inspection by Major-General Calcraft, and later on another by Lieut.-General England, the officer commanding the western district, both of which called forth

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the strongest expressions of satisfaction from those officers respectively; the order of the latter, dated July 8, expressed his high approbation of the performance and precision of the manœuvres and soldierlike appearance of the corps. Here, as at Bristol, there seems to have been some difficulty in repressing traffic between the soldiers of the garrison and the prisoners of war; a Horse Guards order of this summer would hardly have been issued in more modern times, and is perhaps worth transcribing. 1807.

It having been represented to the Commander-in-Chief, that, notwithstanding the manufacture of straw hats, &c., at the depôts for prisoners of war has been strictly prohibited by the Civil Government, the practise is still continued to a considerable extent, to the serious injury of a number of our own poor manufacturers. His Royal Highness, in consequence, directs that the troops doing duty at the several depôts shall in no manner assist the prisoners in the sale of these hats, or in procuring straw for the purpose of making any such articles.

Unfortunate prisoners! To us who live in days of free trade it seems hard to have debarred them from even plaiting straw for a better subsistence, and for such a reason.

Not a month after this the picquets of the North Gloucester and other regiments in the garrison were required to attend the execution of a Spanish prisoner of war at Mill Bay Prison for murder. Comment is needless; enforced idleness and crime may well be found together, and we may be thankful to feel that the prisoners of later wars, such as the Crimean, have been more humanely and generously treated.

In August 1807 a change came; all leave of absence was stopped, and volunteers for the line urgently inquired for. The policy of 1799 was annually vindicated by its great success, and the North Gloucester was now asked

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1807. for 212 men, who were offered a bounty of ten guineas each, and towards this number the regiment actually furnished 147 men and three serjeants, who were posted in a body to the 9th regiment, in which many of them served throughout the whole of the Peninsular War. One of them, Serjeant James Hale, was a man of sufficient education to keep a very intelligent journal, which was afterwards printed, of all that befell him and his corps, until both he and a brother, who also volunteered into the same regiment from the North Gloucester two years afterwards, were sent into hospital wounded. The former had served in the 9th during its retreat under Sir John Moore upon Corunna, and escaped unhurt down to the siege of San Sebastian; the latter, having joined the regiment in April 1809, in time to serve with his brother at Walcheren, the storming of Badajoz, and other places, was wounded not far from Bayonne in 1814.

The First Devon regiment of militia was especially recommended to volunteer into the 5th regiment, then commanded by Lieutenant-General England himself, his order adding, that there were already several men then serving in that corps that formerly volunteered from the First Devon, and that the General "flattered himself that the treatment they had experienced would induce many of their former comrades to join them."

It must have been a glorious time for militia-men when they were competed for by eager commanding officers, and when fourteen guineas bounty was not considered too much for unlimited service, whilst ten guineas was given to those volunteering for seven years only.*

Partly no doubt in consequence of the diminution of

* It was a wretched system, which habitually allowed volunteers a few days' leave of absence to the nearest town, in which they might riot away their bounty, and then join their new regiments.

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the garrison by these measures, and although it consisted of no less than five battalions of militia in addition to the 11th regiment of the line, duties pressed so heavily at this time, that on two occasions in the course of August and September recourse was had to the services of the Plymouth battalion of volunteers, once for eighteen days, and again for a period of ten days, and after both those calls that force earned the hearty commendation of Lieutenant-General England for their readiness and discipline. In the latter month parties were ordered to be sent from the North Gloucester and the other militia regiments in garrison into their respective counties, to receive the men who had been balloted to serve in the place of those who had volunteered into the line. But, so far as the North Gloucester is concerned, the party never started from Plymouth, and the corps had to do without its recruits for a time. It had lately been kept ready for the most active and immediate service, and on October 2 it was ordered to march for Arundel and Chichester, the Sussex coast being then as before the post of honour and supposed danger. It was by no means an unexpected move, and on October 5 the first division marched for Arundel, and on the following day the second for Chichester, Tavistock being the first halting-place for both. Lieutenant-General England expressed in his order his regret at losing "so excellent a regiment," and he offered them his best thanks for their conduct whilst they had been under his command. 1807.

On October 22, 1807, duty was commenced at Bognor Barracks, where it had been intended to station the regiment; but, in consequence of a violent outbreak of ophthalmia necessitating the use of the Selsea Barracks solely as a hospital, and of the Bognor Barracks by another corps that had been destined for Selsea, its stay proved but a very short one, and it was moved on to its old

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1807. quarters at Steyning to form part of "the brigade west of Brighton," and so was placed again under the chief command of Earl Craven.

A note in the court-martial book, made on one of the few days the regiment was at Bognor, leads a Gloucestershire man to the inevitable conclusion that Lieutenant-Colonel Howard must have been the original subject of the well-known story told later of a chairman of the quarter sessions of that county, who, in congratulating a prisoner on his acquittal by the jury, solemnly warned him never to commit the same offence again.

Steyning was reached by way of Arundel on October 28, but the whole district teemed with troops, regular and militia (the South Gloucester, amongst the latter, being now at Shoreham), and another change of quarters, in the course of a month, brought the North Gloucester regiment, on November 25, to Littlehampton and Worthing; here, however, its wanderings came to an end for a considerable period, with the exception of a short removal to Blatchington, near Brighton, in the months of May and June.

As soon as the regiment arrived at Littlehampton, the party ordered at Plymouth was sent to Gloucester to attend the ballot and receive the recruits, who afterwards joined the corps in three successive monthly detachments, of 157 in January 1808, 140 in February, and 31 in April of the same year, making in all an addition of over 300 men, and bringing it up to somewhere about its established strength.

A dispute between the quartermasters and contractors was the matter of most considerable interest at this time, though it was happily not so serious as a similar quarrel which had resulted some few years before in two men of the Oxfordshire militia being shot for mutiny at Brighton. It

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enables us to gather that the contract price of butchers' meat in Sussex was 6*d.* per lb. from January to July 1808, and 5¾*d* later in the year. 1808.

An order issued by Colonel Kingscote must explain itself:—

> Several of the men having of late been in the habit of meeting in a room, as they say, for religious purposes, the commanding officer deems it necessary to signify his disapprobation of such an illegal meeting. The civil power has a right to interfere, and can commit the parties present to prison for holding unlawful assemblies in an unlicensed place. Any soldier who is found attending such meetings in future will be punished for disobedience of orders.

The suppression of smuggling formed part of the duty of the troops, and they were specially urged in February 1808 to take the "opportunity of evincing their zeal for the protection of the revenue and the fair trader," in the hope that a vigilant look-out would result in the capture of a fleet of fifty-four vessels then said to be preparing at Flushing for the purpose of smuggling cargoes into England with the assistance of French privateers.

The smuggling vessels seem however to have been well able to take care of themselves and often independent of privateering or other convoy, as a short time before this, in April 1806, a regular action had been fought off Brighton between a smuggler and the revenue cutter "Leopard," in which the contraband vessel was worsted, and its captain, one Aldridge, killed.

Much sickness prevailed among the troops during the spring of 1808. Special issues of warm clothing betoken the severity of the weather in the early part of the year, and towards the month of March, on the surgeon signifying that the men must be kept out of barracks as much as possible, the commanding officer, somewhat facetiously,

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1808. took the opportunity of ordering three parades a day lasting two hours each, and of requesting a regular attendance of officers.

Whilst at Blatchington the officers were ordered to provide themselves "with gaiters and kersimere breeches;" but nothing except the celebration of the King's birthday on June 4, at which there was a general parade of all the troops, including even a small detachment of the North Gloucester, which was marched into Brighton for the occasion from Cuckmere, can be found to mark the month's stay of the regiment at that station.

On their return to Littlehampton, the best-behaved men were allowed to go as usual to harvest work, and bathing parties, under the command of a non-commissioned officer, and marching to the music produced by one fifer and a like number of drummers, availed themselves of the sea "on the east side of Lord Berkeley's house." Amongst other things, we find Colonel Kingscote directing that "the soldiers' wives should dress themselves decent and attend Divine Service," testifying to the fact, that, whatever objections that gallant officer had to Nonconformity,* he steadily supported the Established Church.

* See page 119.

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CHAPTER VIII.

The Royal North Gloucester from 1808 to 1852.

A NEW chapter must be commenced with such a revo- 1808.
lutionary order as that which abolished "pigtails."

It is told * of brave old Admiral Sir William Fairfax, who like the rest of the world viewed these appendages as the very insignia of loyalty to Church and King, that he once, on hearing his little daughter, afterwards the celebrated Mrs. Somerville, expressing her childish wish that men would discard these appendages, thundered out, "By G——, when a man cuts off his queue, the head should go with it!" The veteran's feeling was not peculiar to the sister service, and an order, which must have driven a nail into the coffin of many an old-fashioned martinet, fell upon the army, including the North Gloucester regiment, in 1808. The gravity of the occasion demands its insertion at full length.

Littlehampton, July 28, 1808.

R. O.—The Commander-in-Chief having been pleased to dispence with the use of queues until further orders, the men are immediately to have their hair cropped. The Colonel desires that the men's hair is cut close to their necks in the neatest and most uniform manner, and that their heads are kept perfectly clean by combing, brushing, and frequently washing them. For the latter purpose it is His Majesty's pleasure that a small sponge be added to each man's regimental necessaries.

Officers at this time were ordered to wear "white pantaloons and half-boots on Sundays and at mess;" and

* Mary Somerville's life, by her daughter.

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1808. that special importance was attached to officers always appearing in public in uniform is attested by an order allowing them to appear at Brighton races *on the course* in plain clothes, but adding, that "in the evening they must all be again regimentally dressed."

From this time nothing happened to the end of 1808, except that the North Gloucester formed part of a large force of militia assembled in camp near Brighton to celebrate H.R.H. the Prince of Wales's birthday, August 12. No less than a dozen regiments, including both the North and South Gloucester, attended, the North encamping by the Windmill on the Horsham Road, just above Preston, and the other regiments either in that neighbourhood, near Lewes Barracks, or at Rottingdean, the camp being in three divisions, with those points for their respective centres. The North Gloucester, after partaking in the manœuvres of the day on Ball's Down, returned to Littlehampton, and Lieutenant-General Lord Charles Somerset was charged by His Royal Highness to express his high gratification at their military appearance and their precision of marching. With this episode, and with life rendered even duller by a stringent order, no doubt a necessary one, against officers sporting without leave from the farmers and landholders—an order which seems to have been obeyed by the North Gloucester better than by the officers of a certain gallant regiment of cavalry, two of whom narrowly escaped a court-martial for its infraction—the autumn wore on into winter, and winter into the spring of 1809, with nothing to mark the flight of time but successive parades and the routine of regimental life. A move in whatever direction was doubtless not unwelcome, and especially to quarters where the regiment was so well known and had left so many friends behind it as at Bristol, and thither it was ordered to start on

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April 17, 1809, one division marching from Littlehampton by way of Chichester and the other by Arundel, the whole regiment mustering on College Green, Bristol, on April 27. 1809.

The Bristol garrison comprised the North Gloucester, 1st Somerset, Monmouth, and Brecon, and the Royal Carmarthen regiments, the latter being old comrades. The regiment resumed its former duties at the Stapleton Prison and various outposts, and was inspected by Major-General Warde on May 19, acquitting itself to the entire satisfaction of that officer. The Carmarthen regiment left for Darlington, and the 1st Somerset for Exeter, in the course of the summer, the latter being replaced at Bristol by the 1st Lancashire, which thenceforward shared duties with the North Gloucester. The first event was to march to Hereford to quell a disturbance in the local militia force.* Colonel Kingscote was requested by Major-General Warde to take command of the expedition, and after a ten days' stay there, peace and order being restored, the regiment returned to Bristol, arriving on June 28. Colonel Kingscote had command of the garrison during the autumn, in the absence of Major-General Warde, and with the exception of conducting the embarkation of large numbers of French prisoners (45 were embarked from Stapleton in August, 110 in September, and so on), nothing occurred to note, except the autumn inspection of the regiment in October, when it again gained the approving word of the Major-General. Captain S. P. Paul was gazetted major in September of this year.† The rejoicings which took

* See page 126.

† It is somewhat singular that this officer, and the three who immediately succeeded him as Majors, all took holy orders on leaving the regiment, obtaining church preferment as follows:—

S. P. Paul, Major, September 5, 1809; Vicar of Tetbury, co. Gloucester.

Lord W. G. H. Somerset, Major, December 1, 1811; Rector of Llan-

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1809. place shortly after, on the entering by the King into the fiftieth year of his reign, commonly called the Jubilee, must be mentioned, for it was distinguished by a general amnesty to all soldiers under arrest for military offences, and it may well be supposed that, in those days of severe sentences, the regulation *feu de joie* was fired with none the less heartiness on the publication of the order dated from the Horse Guards on October 17, 1809, which signified His Majesty's wish to mark the event by every possible means, and amongst these by an act of general amnesty and forgiveness, and a command that all delinquents confined for offences of a military nature should be released on the 25th inst., and allowed to return to their duty without any more punishment.

The prisoners at Bristol were accordingly released; but it is satisfactory to know that there was not a single man of the North Gloucester regiment under sentence of court-martial. Especial clemency on this auspicious occasion was also extended to all deserters who should surrender themselves in consequence of His Majesty's gracious proclamation, and not only was a free pardon extended to all who gave themselves up before a certain day in December, but whatever necessaries they might be most in want of, to an amount of 25*s.* per man, were furnished them free of expense. Desertion was a crime so rife at this time, that these were measures possibly no less of policy than of clemency, and brought back to the standards a large number of men, when, as we shall see shortly afterwards, the strongest inducements as well as the most active means

gattock, co. Brecon, and of Tormarton, co. Gloucester, and Prebend of Bristol.

E. O. Holwell, Major, 25 May, 1813; Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford, Rector of Plymtree, co. Devon.

Hon. James Somers-Cocks, Major till 1821; Canon of Worcester, and Prebend of Hereford.

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were needed to keep the ranks of the army and militia at their requisite strength. 1809.

As early as March of this year, 1809, volunteers from the militia had been again urgently sought for the line, and, although it was scarcely more than eighteen months since the North Gloucester had supplied a large quota, a contingent of 203 men was required from the regiment, some of whom, as before, joined the 9th regiment. Another special Act of Parliament * had been passed for the purpose, and the inducement of commissions to militia officers, in the proportion of an ensigncy to every fifty men, was held out to stimulate their efforts to promote volunteering amongst their companies. Arrangements were promised to prevent the separation of the officers and men thus volunteering; and the urgency of the need may be gathered from the concluding words of the General Order, which brought the Act of Parliament to the knowledge of the commanding officer of the regiment. It stated that—

> His Majesty, entirely relying on your zeal and attachment to his service, has commanded me to recommend the execution of this important law to your best exertions, and to express his confident persuasion that, from the spirit and enterprise of his militia soldiers, seconded by the encouraging countenance of the officers of that important branch of the public force, the regular and disposable army will receive an immediate augmentation, equal to the pressing exigencies of the public service and the expectations of the legislature.

This was signed by Lord Liverpool: and to get an idea of

* Legislation took place almost every year. The Acts were—

45 Geo. III., c. 31.	51 Geo. III., c. 20.
47 Geo. III., c. 57.	53 Geo. III., c. 81.
49 Geo. III., c. 4.	54 Geo. III., c. 1.
49 Geo. III., c. 53.	

All of these reduced the militia by encouraging volunteering into the Line, leaving the militia to be refilled by ballot or other means.

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1809. the waste of war, now at its height, we may note that the order just quoted was issued only two months after the retreat and death of Sir John Moore, an episode that had cost more than 6,000 men (how many were there among the little band of 60, which was all that was left of the gallant 9th when it reached Corunna, of the 177 men of the Royal North Gloucester, who had joined that regiment only a couple of years before?) and shortly before the battle of Talavera, which was won at an expense of more than 8,000 in killed, wounded, and missing. Then came another struggle to refill the ranks of what was now called the "regular militia," to distinguish it from the "local." Recruits were raised by beat of drum, and an offer was made of a bounty of ten guineas in money to all men joining from the counties, and of eight guineas from the Local Militia, no less than two guineas "bringing-money" being allowed in either case.

The Local Militia, now mentioned almost for the first time,* was an additional reserve raised in 1808 on the motion of Lord Castlereagh, when it was determined to create a subsidiary force, amounting to six times the number of the militia, on a plan which had been advocated some years before by Mr. Yorke, as against the plan of a general training of the population, which latter however was at that time adopted. It was now found that, when the gross amount of the effective volunteers which had been so raised was compared with six times the amount of the militia, there was a deficiency of about 60,000 men, and the Crown was empowered † to supply it by a "local militia" of that number in the first instance, to be increased in proportion as the volunteer force should diminish, and to supersede it totally, if in the event of peace the volunteers withdrew their services. This local militia was balloted for in

* See page 123.

† 48 Geo. III. c. 111.

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the different counties in proportion to the deficiency of volunteers in each; no substitutes were allowed; and volunteer corps might transfer themselves bodily into the new force. 1811.

The three "local militia" corps in Gloucestershire, called the Western, the 1st Eastern, and the 2nd Eastern, had for colonels Lord Ducie, Sir B. W. Guise, bart., and Sir H. Lippincott, bart., respectively, all captains in the North Gloucester regiment. A fourth battalion, "the Corps of Royal Cotswold Local Militia," was raised early in 1813, in consequence of a falling-off in the number of the volunteers. Cirencester was allotted to it for head-quarters; its field-officers were Lord Apsley,* Lieutenant-Colonel; George Talbot, esq., Second Lieutenant-Colonel; Edward Cripps, esq.,† Major; D. J. Niblett, esq., Second Major; and Lieutenant Jackson Clarke of the Royal North Gloucester was appointed its Adjutant. The whole "local" force came to an end in 1816.

A further contingent of 63 men was in April 1811, a little more than a twelvemonth after the last levy, required from the regiment on the same terms as in the previous year, and their places were refilled from the county by recruits, who received bounty in proportion to the alacrity with which they came forward. Those joining before July 25 were given complete regimental clothing, boots included, and so downwards, till those joining late in the year appear to have been supplied with only a jacket and breeches free, the expense of those garments together being about 1*l.*, whilst payment for the rest of their kit was stopped out of their nominal bounties. In this way, supplying men and officers to the line and replacing them as best may be from their own recruiting ground, the time of the regiment was passed till its removal from Bristol in the month of July.

* Afterwards Earl Bathurst; he died 1866. † See page 96.

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1811. In fact, the daily order-book of a regiment is a practical illustration of, and running commentary on, the history of the times, as written in such pages as those of the Journals of the House of Commons. Since the recommencement of the war in 1803 the defence of the kingdom had been the one absorbing topic. Long and stormy debates ventilated every possible military question, long and short service, recruiting in all its phases, the proper relation of the militia to the regulars, and of the volunteers to both, many of which have been fought all over again, though this time we may thankfully say in times of profound peace as far as we are concerned, in the course of recent arguments on army reorganization.

Looking at the result from a 'militia' point of view, it must be said that the conclusions arrived at showed the real importance of that "ancient and constitutional force." Whatever objections were urged to the great expense of the regular service on the one hand, or to the merely voluntary principle on the other, time after time were the ranks of the army filled up with the well-drilled and organized draughts that the militia was so well adapted to supply, and the latter recruited either by ballot or pecuniary inducements.

The last communication received by the North Gloucester before its departure from Bristol was one which affected its movements a good deal before its final disembodiment, and that was the order notifying the passing of the Act which permitted the interchange of the English and Irish militia.* This entailed a considerable change of status in the case of those officers and men who accepted its proposals, obliging them to extend their services by swearing in afresh and re-enrolling for service "in the United Kingdom;" which done, they were to be liable for service

* The Interchange Act was 51 Geo. III. c. 118.

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in Ireland, though only for a period of two years, and not again until the expiration of a further six years, except in case of actual invasion or rebellion. A sum of two guineas bounty to the men and increased pay to the officers was offered, and the hope expressed that they would readily avail themselves of the opportunity of extending the field on which their services were thenceforth to be displayed, and of rendering themselves to the United Kingdom what they had so long been to Great Britain, a never-failing resource on every occasion of difficulty and danger. In response to this appeal the whole of the officers and men of the North Gloucester volunteered for service in Ireland. 1811.

During the later part of the stay of the regiment at Bristol the remainder of the garrison was composed of the Oxford, Hants, and Glamorganshire regiments, and in conjunction with these duty was carried on, the North Gloucester as usual earning the commendation of the Major-General commanding for its steady and soldier-like conduct at the June inspection, and his acknowledgement of its orderly and good behaviour, whilst under his command, on its quitting the station in September. One of the garrison orders of the year bears this out in somewhat of a characteristic detail.

> The soldiers are again directed to avoid spitting on the pavement of the Cathedral during Divine Service; the Royal North Gloucester are reported the only regiment who pay any attention to the previous orders on the subject.

The establishment of the regiment had now been reduced by an Act * of the last Parliament, that of 1811, to its former strength of 691 men, the number fixed under the general Act of 42 George III., c. 90, the detail being as follows :—

* 51 Geo. III. c. 20.

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1811.

1 Colonel.
1 Lieut.-Colonel.
1 Major.
8 Captains.
10 Lieutenants.
6 Ensigns.
1 Adjutant.
1 Surgeon.
1 Quarter-Master.
1 Paymaster.
1 Serjeant-Major.
1 Quarter-Master-Serjeant.
29 Serjeants.
29 Corporals.
1 Drum-Major.
18 Drummers.
581 Privates.

691 Total of all ranks.

On July 2, 1811, the regiment took its departure from Bristol under orders for Dartford. Captain Lord de Clifford had just been gazetted to be Lieutenant-Colonel, *vice* Howard, who had resigned shortly before.

Marshfield was reached in one march, Chippenham on the following day, next day Marlborough, Newbury on July 6, and Reading on the 8th. On arriving at Reading they were met by orders countermanding the further march to Dartford, and directing the regiment to proceed to Bagshot and Blackwater, and thence to Sandhurst Camp, where it took up its abode on July 12 for more than three months.

The men were employed on the works at the Royal Military College, the laying out of the grounds, and the like; and the orders are principally concerned with preventing them fishing in the brooks, or straying in the neighbouring woods, or washing their meat in the stream

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which supplied the camp with water. On October 24, life under canvas was once more exchanged for the greater comforts of Guildford barracks, though a large party, consisting of two officers, a surgeon, and 110 non-commissioned officers and men, was left behind in huts to continue their assistance on the works at the college. These were relieved monthly from the head-quarters; and this formed the only change in the daily routine till the order to proceed to Horsham at the end of January 1812. No other troops seem to have been quartered at Guildford, but at Horsham the regiment moved into the busier scene of a considerable garrison. 1812.

The first division arrived at Horsham on January 27, after a two days' march, the distance being divided at Dorking, and the second, under the command of Major Lord William Somerset, on the following day. Here were quartered the 36th and 44th regiments of the line, with the depôts of the 45th, 87th, and 89th, and till April garrison duty went on, the men apparently doing nothing worse than occasionally trespassing in the fields "contagious" (*sic*) to the river, to the annoyance of some of the inhabitants. But, whether for this or no, the sight of the military does not seem to have been as popular here as elsewhere, for we find the High Sheriff of Surrey particularly requesting that the officers might always appear in the town in coloured clothes; and on the occasion of the assizes, even marketing parties were placed under the charge of an officer, and obliged to be back in barracks before 8 a.m., whilst no soldier was allowed in the town on any account whatever. Possibly three months at a station apparently so ungenial was enough, and the order to move back to Guildford *en route* for Basingstoke on April 25 not unwillingly obeyed.

Whilst the head-quarters were at Horsham a serious

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1812. accident befel some men of the working party left at Sandhurst. By the burning down of a hut in a furious gale of wind in March, the entire equipment of a portion of them was lost in the flames, and on the holding of a court of inquiry it appeared that the men themselves had but narrowly escaped with their lives, having been unable to save anything else whatever.

The annual order for volunteering came not long after the regiment left Horsham, and the number required as its quota was this year fixed at 77. It was found increasingly difficult to refill the ranks of the militia, and by the end of the year more active measures than ever were resorted to; the number of recruiting parties was increased, every company in a regiment had its own, and the most active and intelligent men were chosen for the duty. Not only were regiments to recruit in their own counties but in the adjoining ones, a practice that had been hitherto strictly forbidden; and every soldier who, whilst on furlough, succeeded in providing even one good recruit had his furlough extended, such was the pressing nature of the need. It is satisfactory to think that in the case of the North Gloucester the expectations of the Government had been fully realised, for it was within a few months of this date that we find it reported by Colonel Kingscote to have not only furnished its full quota, but to be quite up to its then established strength of 581 privates.

An annual supply of at least 25,000 men was required at this time to meet the costs of the war, for a large proportion of which the nation now habitually turned to the militia; contemporary records show that no fewer than 100,000 men were passed from the militia regiments into the line in the course of the ten years ending with 1814; and yet for all this, at the end of the time, the former was not less numerous and better disciplined than

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when the system of volunteering was entered upon. The total strength of the embodied militia during those years had varied from 70,000 to about 90,000 men. 1812.

The two divisions of the regiment on leaving Horsham respectively on April 25 and 27, 1812, proceeded, as ordered, to Basingstoke by way of Guildford, and after a short stay of about a fortnight moved on to its former quarters at Sandhurst, encamping by direction of the Commandant of the R. M. College, and remaining there through the months of July, August, September, and October. In this latter month, again leaving a detachment behind them, the head-quarters of the regiment made another short stay at Basingstoke; and in November the whole were marched thence back to Bristol. Five days were spent on the road, halts for the night being made at Whitchurch, Ludgershall, Marlborough, Chippenham, and Marshfield, successively, and on November 10 the regiment arrived at Bristol once more, there to remain until its embarkation at that port for Ireland on June 18 in the following year, 1813. It will be remembered that the whole of the regiment, officers and men, had volunteered for service in that part of the United Kingdom, and extended their obligations accordingly, at the end of the year 1811. The Government now availed itself of their services, and the North Gloucester was stationed at Dublin during the remainder of the year, returning to England only to be disembodied.

Dublin was the largest and most important garrison of which the North Gloucester had formed a part; it was under the command of Lieut.-General Meyrick, and at this time consisted of six militia regiments, besides two of cavalry, and a force of heavy and light artillery.

The militia were the Cork City, Donegal, Warwick, Dumfries, and Nottingham regiments, a strength which

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1813. was not reduced during the stay of the North Gloucester, though individual regiments left, and were replaced by others.

There was naturally more of incident than at such a quarter as Bristol, but the kindness always shown to the North Gloucester made the latter a favourite station. Although the duty was very heavy, the day's guard being between 400 and 500 men with officers in proportion, the frequent successes in the Peninsula kept up the spirit of troops at home. Towards the end of the year there were constant parades for firing a *feu de joie* to celebrate one or other such victory—won at what a cost! We may well imagine the mixed feelings of the regiment when firing to celebrate "the victory won by F. M. the Marquess of Wellington over the French army in front of Bayonne" if the men thought of their old comrades, some of whom still served in the 9th regiment, storming the redoubts which crowned every height on each side of the great road leading from Bayonne through St. Jean de Luz to the Spanish frontier, and the trenches of which can still be traced, here and there distinguished by a white headstone bearing the names of those who fell in the field or coppice in which it stands.

Dublin can hardly be described as a quiet quarter, for constant orders to patrol the streets are to be found, and on more than one occasion strong inlying picquets were kept in barracks under arms all night, or "until the people were dispersed."

We must not omit a curious complaint of the Paving Board, that the street lamps were often broken by the halberds carried by the sergeants, which weapons were accordingly ordered to be "carefully sloped" when on the march through the streets, and the sergeants themselves to pay for what they broke. In the month of August there

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was a grand turn-out of the whole garrison to take leave of Lord Whitworth, and to receive a new Lord-Lieutenant in the Duke of Richmond. 1813.

It is a pleasant change to note that at the annual inspection in October it was found by the inspecting officer that there had been no corporal punishment inflicted in the regiment since the previous inspection. His satisfaction at this, and at the general state of the regiment, was expressed in the very strongest terms.

The usual volunteering at the end of the year had as before given occasion to great relaxation of discipline,* the Colonel's order of December 12 saying that—

> As every indulgence has been granted to the men during the volunteering, and many liberties allowed which nothing but the occasion could justify, he trusted that the regiment would now return to their good conduct, which is absolutely necessary, without his having recourse to strong measures to enforce it.

This was the last great draught furnished by the militia in response to the repeated calls of the authorities on that service to make good the deficiencies occasioned by the drain of continual warfare, and many of the men composing it shared in the great victory of Waterloo in the following year, some of them fighting, it is said, in their militia uniforms. Six officers and 201 men joined the regular army from the regiment, and twenty more men in the following March. This handsome contribution was in answer no doubt to the liberal terms offered by the last new circular issued a month or two before. Each new Act of Parliament had offered higher inducements than its predecessor, and, to crown all, a complete set of company commissions was now offered † to militia officers for every

* See page 116, *note*.

† Under 54 Geo. III. c. 1. which enabled militia men to serve for a time in the line, still preserving their militia *status*.

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1814. hundred men volunteering, and eight guineas bounty to every man. Two such companies complete, officers and all,* were supplied by the Royal North Gloucester to the Line, and Captain Gregory, who joined the 56th regiment, shortly afterwards took part in the attack on Bergem-op-Zoom, rejoining the North Gloucester in 1815, as the Act provided. It was the last practical service of the regiment for many a year, and there is but little left to notice before its return to England. The winter of 1813-14 was one of unexampled severity, and the men had the opportunity of adding to their earnings in January and February by clearing the roads for his Majesty's mails. For this they were given working pay of 2*s*. per day, and an estimate may be formed of the depth of the snow from a letter quoted in the Annual Register for January 25, which narrates that—

> Six coaches came in from Naas on Saturday; four of them were upset. The streets of Dublin are impassable, most of them completely blocked up, the snow being seven or eight feet. The oldest person has no recollection of half the quantity of snow falling in the time.

Some English militiamen who had volunteered for foreign service were frozen to death on their march from Nottingham.

The regimental order books for the early part of 1814 have not been preserved, and there is no information available to fill the interval until Dublin was left at the end of August. The two vessels in which the regiment was conveyed both arrived at Liverpool on September 2, and from Liverpool the two divisions, one of 234, and the other of 205 men, proceeded on their march to Cirencester, the former by Warrington, and the other by way of Bridge-

* The officers were Captains Cook and J. B. Gregory, Lieutenants T. D. Bayley and Andrew Miller, Ensigns R. Watts and another.

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north, twelve days being spent on the road. The regiment arrived at its own head-quarters after its long absence on September 18, 1814, and was disembodied on the following day. 1814.

Thus ended the long period of service of the Royal North Gloucester, which, with the exception of one short interval of a few months, had lasted from 1793 until the conclusion of the peace of 1814.

The following General Order will complete our series:—

Horse Guards, 24th June, 1814.

The re-establishment of peace having enabled his Royal Highness the Prince Regent, in the name and on behalf of His Majesty, to direct the disembodying of the militia forces, the Commander-in-Chief, previous to their return to their respective counties, desires thus publicly to offer to them his best acknowledgments for the zeal and perseverance with which they have, during a long and eventful war, shared with the regular army in every military duty which has fallen within their province.

From the gallant and patriotic spirit displayed by the militia was derived, at the most critical periods of the war, the means of reinforcing the disposable force of the country, a measure which most essentially contributed to its military renown, by placing the British army foremost in those confederate bands which resisted the unbounded ambition and overwhelming power of the late ruler of France, and by their bravery and discipline, under the direction of Divine Providence, rescued that country from tyranny and oppression, and restored to Europe the blessing of peace.

The Commander-in-Chief feels personally indebted to the militia forces for the ready and cheerful obedience with which they have at all times received his commands; and he requests that, with these heartfelt expressions of approbation, they will collectively and individually accept his warmest wishes for their welfare and happiness.

FREDERICK, Commander-in-Chief.

Exhausted by long wars, the nations of Europe laid aside their arms, and, although preparation for war is said

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1831. to be the security for peace, *si pacem velis, para bellum*, exhaustion is perhaps no less so; for as far as our own country is concerned the peace now concluded happily endured till the very existence of the militia force, upon which the nation had so long depended as a present help in time of need, was well nigh forgotten.

In certain years, at intervals apart, the militia received a training. The North Gloucester met at Cirencester for four weeks in the months of May or June of the years 1820, 1821, and 1825, and once again in the autumn of 1831. In the training of 1821 we find Major Walter Paul succeeding to Major the Hon. J. Somers-Cocks; in 1825 Lieutenant.-Colonel W. H. Beach * had succeeded to Lieutenant-Colonel Lord de Clifford; and in 1831 the Hon. A. H. Moreton † was the Major. The name of Captain M. H. Hicks-Beach, afterwards Lieutenant-Colonel Sir M. H. Hicks-Beach, bart,‡ also appears in this year; Colonel Kingscote being commanding officer all the while.

The strength of the regiment was more or less kept up, varying from 331 in 1820 to 540 in 1831, its proper establishment being 581 privates. George Coussmaker, esq., sometime M.P. for Kinsale, held a commission as ensign in 1820.

The only recollection of the regimental mess that has reached these days is, that "the Bold Dragoon" was a favourite song, as sung by Captain J. B. Gregory after dinner, and a remark, that at least one of the officers

* Second son of Michael Hicks, esq., of Beverston, co. Gloucester, who assumed the name of Beach by royal licence in 1790, and uncle to Sir M. H. Hicks-Beach.

† The Hon. Aug. H. Moreton, second son of Earl Ducie and M.P. for East Gloucestershire.

‡ M.P. for East Gloucestershire, father of Captain the Right Hon. Sir M. E. Hicks-Beach, bart., now M.P. for that division, and at present Chief Secretary for Ireland.

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lived at Calais probably because "brandy was cheap." 1468.
After 1831 the militia was left untrained altogether.

A Lord-Lieutenant now and then bestowed the empty honour of a commission in the county corps upon a friend or neighbour, but rather as a social distinction than as conferring professional rank or entailing military duties or obligations. The notification of such an appointment in the London Gazette, and the passing of an annual Act for the payment of its disembodied staff, alone kept its memory green; and hardly that after 1829, when its already small proportions were diminished to nine individuals at the head-quarters of each regiment, whilst from 1846 vacancies amongst even this little band were left unfilled.

In that year Captain Tobin became Adjutant of the regiment and assumed the command of the "Permanent Staff," in the room of the veteran Captain Bradstock, who had held that appointment since 1813. From this time down to the new birth of the North Gloucester in 1852 the regimental correspondence consists of alternate applications to the War Office for leave to appoint a serjeant to the staff, and refusals of these requests by the authorities; and so the skeleton "cadres," which alone represented the bodies of well-drilled men that had for so many years served their country, and would do so again, dropped limb from limb, as pensioner after pensioner, in his turn worn out, went to his long rest, and his place knew him no more.

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CHAPTER IX.

The Royal North Gloucester: its Modern History.

1852. An interval of more than a generation had elapsed between the events recorded in the last chapter, at the end of the French war, and the next occasion on which the thoughts of the nation turned themselves to the subject of domestic defence. In 1852 this became the prominent question of the day.*

History repeats itself, and the militia was destined to be for a second time the cause of a political crisis, one fraught however with no more serious consequence than the fall of a ministry. Parliament and public opinion agreed that, whatever our means of attack, the defensive forces should be on an equal footing with those of other powers, and that the position of the country in this respect was far from satisfactory.

Under these circumstances nothing was more natural than that the Government of the day should think of the long-neglected militia. Lord John Russell's ministry determined to have recourse to that "ancient constitutional force," but, unfortunately for itself, it made the fatal mistake of proposing to reconstitute it on the plan of the "local" instead of the "regular" militia. The radical difference between these two forces will be remembered;† and the objections of Lord Palmerston, urging that what the nation wanted was the "Old Regular Militia," which had existed, he said, "for nearly two hundred years," and not the local militia, a force invented in 1808

* Hansard's Debates, 1852.

† See page 126.

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as a provision for particular emergencies, expressed the real feeling of the country. His amendment, based upon this view, on the bringing up of the report of the committee of the whole House on the Local Militia Acts, left the Government in a minority of eleven, and Lord Derby proceeded to form an administration, whose first step was to bring in the Bill which reorganized the militia. 1852.

In moving for leave to introduce it, Mr. Secretary Walpole reminded the House that danger might soon arise, that there was actually a militia, for the law was only suspended, and that it had done good service in times gone by. The leading features of the proposed plan were to raise a force of 80,000 men under the provisions of 42 Geo. III. c. 90, by voluntary enlistment, encouraged by bounties of 3*l.* or 4*l.*; the ballot to be held in reserve if voluntary enlistment failed to produce the numbers required; to abolish the qualifications hitherto required for officers below the rank of major; to make former service in the army an equivalent for such qualifications; to train the force for twenty-one days annually, or, at the pleasure of the Crown, for any time from three days to seven weeks; with no alteration in the existing law as to embodiments. It was represented that the expense of clothing the force would be about 1*l.* 15*s.* per man.

Especial interest is lent to the debate in the House of Lords from the fact that the Bill was strenuously supported by the Duke of Wellington in one of the last speeches he ever made. He referred to the militia in the last war, and stated that the regiments of that day were in as high a state of discipline and as fit for service as any he had ever seen in his life; that it was impossible to have a body of troops in higher order or discipline than those bodies of English militia at the beginning of the century and up to 1810; "they were," said he, "as fine a corps as ever

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1852. were seen;" and he concluded by expressing his firm belief that, re-formed under the Acts proposed, the new militia would in time become what their predecessors were, and that, if so, they would perform every service that could be required of them.

Thus supported, the Act of 15 and 16 Vict. c. 50 became law, embodying the proposals of the Government referred to above, to which must be here added the additional detail necessary, viz.: that men enlisting must be between 18 and 35 years of age; that deficiencies in one county might be supplied from another where the full quota had been already raised and yet more men were available; that the ballot should be resorted to in case of invasion, immediate danger, or failing voluntary enlistment; and that Her Majesty should have power to increase the force to 120,000 men, after communicating with Parliament if sitting, or summoning it within fourteen days if it was in adjournment or prorogued.

The quota for Gloucestershire was fixed at 1,993 men.

In pursuance of this, on July 19, 1852, Lord Fitzhardinge, the Lord Lieutenant of the county, received an order which runs like those of old time, and reminds us of the Commissions of Array. It brought to his notice the provisions of the new Act, and, signifying that the number of men required was 1,240 in that year, and an additional number of 753 in the next, directed that the Deputy-Lieutenants and the commanding officers of the two county regiments were to raise that number by voluntary enlistment, to anticipate and prevent the inconvenience of the ballot. The strength of the regiments was to be regulated by the old Act, so often referred to, of 42 Geo. III. c. 90, and the Lord-Lieutenant was to have the fullest discretion both in appointing new officers and as to retaining or not the services of the old ones. It was

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notified that the new force thus to be raised would be summoned for training as soon after the first week in October as possible. Its uniform was to correspond with that of the line, silver lace being substituted for gold; and it was, whilst trained or embodied, to receive the same pay as the line. The colonels were accordingly summoned to meet the Lord-Lieutenant at Gloucester on August 3, and were requested to ascertain whether each officer holding a commission was or was not, in his own opinion, able to discharge his regimental duties. 1852.

Colonel Robert Kingscote, under whom the regiment had served from 1794 till its disembodiment in 1814, and who had retained the command until his death in 1840, had been then succeeded by his nephew, Colonel Thomas Henry Kingscote, who now found himself at Cirencester, a new colonel commanding a new regiment, but the one still a Kingscote * and the other still the North Gloucester, at the head of 605 men, assembled for training on October 15, 1852, fifteen men only being wanted to complete the establishment. They were divided into eight companies of about seventy-two men each, and found themselves on assembling without boots or drill-serjeants. The latter however, supplied by the 35th regiment, at last arrived

* The following extract from Burke's "Landed Gentry" illustrates the time-honoured connection of the house of Kingscote with the Royal North Gloucester:—

Nigel Kingscote, esq, of Kingscote, Major of the North Gloucester regiment, died unmarried in 1773, and was succeeded by his nephew

Robert Kingscote, esq., of Kingscote, Colonel of the North Gloucester regiment, also died unmarried in 1840, and was succeeded by his nephew

Thomas Henry Kingscote, esq., of Kingscote, Colonel of the Royal North Gloucester militia, married Isabella Frances Anne, sixth daughter of Henry sixth Duke of Beaufort, and, dying in 1862, was succeeded by his son

Colonel Robert Nigel Fitzhardinge Kingscote, of Kingscote, C.B., M.P. for West Gloucestershire, and Hon. Colonel of the Royal North Gloucester militia at this day.

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1852. from Plymouth on October 27; and the urgent request made for the missing boots, for a little furniture for an orderly-room, and for some racks for the arms, gives a notion of the unprepared state in which the regiment first met again.

The clothing of the militia was from this time until 1856 provided by the commanding officers of regiments, a sum of about 32*s.* being allowed them for each private, and 58*s.* for each serjeant, with a small additional sum of 3*s.* or 4*s.* for those belonging to the flank companies. Since 1856 the clothing has been supplied by the Government.

It must not be forgotten to add, that, in anticipation of this its first training, Captain J. W. Wallington, a member of a family long settled in Gloucestershire, and lately of the 83rd regiment and the 4th Light Dragoons, had been gazetted to the North Gloucester as a Major, the commencement of a connection that has lasted to the present day. Succeeding to the Lieutenant-Colonelcy on the death of Sir Michael Hicks-Beach, bart., in 1854, and to the command of the regiment on the death of Colonel Kingscote, it is not too much to say that Colonel Wallington has from that day forward not only commanded the regiment, but the regard of every officer and man of whom it has been and is composed.

The period of exercise ending without further incident, the first step had been taken towards replacing the regiment in its former state of efficiency, and the men were dismissed to their homes, having received a warm welcome at their old head-quarter town. The following communication on this subject was shortly afterwards addressed to Colonel Kingscote and the officers of the regiment:—

We, the undersigned resident clergy, gentry, tradesmen, and others of Cirencester, beg to convey to you the expression of our

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approbation of the excellent and orderly conduct and demeanour of your corps during the twenty-one days' training, notwithstanding any inconvenience which the men may have sustained for want of that accommodation which longer notice would have enabled the town to afford. 1853.

We beg to add that our best endeavours shall be used on the corps being next called out to make such arrangements for the accommodation of the men as will be entirely satisfactory to the colonel and officers.

W. F. Powell, Perp. Curate,
E. A. Daubeny, J.P., Henry Cripps, J.P.
T. W. C. Master, J.P. J. R. Mullings, M.P.
Frederick Cripps, and all the leading inhabitants.

In 1853 the strength of the regiment had increased to 766, and further to 831 men before the end of the twenty-eight days' training, which had commenced on April 27. In both this and the following year the new regiment earned the warm commendations of the inspecting field-officer, Colonel Patton.

Towards the end of 1854 the occasion for the more permanent services of the militia arose that had been anticipated by the Legislature, although the general expectation of war was realised in the shape of hostilities with Russia, not France, and with the latter as a warm if an unaccustomed ally. On the day after Christmas Day the North Gloucester was embodied for service, and again assembled at Cirencester, this time for a lengthened stay.

In the month of August preceding, volunteering for the line had commenced, and large numbers of men had passed into the line from the regiment between the end of training and the commencement of the embodiment, when the first regular draught upon the North Gloucester was made, sixty-three men being furnished in January 1855 to the 41st regiment then serving in Ireland.

By this time the authorities had discovered that they

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1855. had no power to keep such men of the militia as had been enrolled before the passing of the new Act of May 1854 * embodied for more than fifty-six days, except in case of actual invasion. This Act justified for the first time the embodiment of the militia "whenever a state of war should exist," irrespective of such an extremity of danger as the landing of an enemy on our shores. An additional bounty of 1*l.* in money paid down was offered to the men already in the ranks to re-attest under this new condition, and whilst many availed themselves of the offer others declined, and were consequently paid off and allowed to return to their homes. Those also who re-attested were allowed a period of leave from their companies, which were for a short time very weak; No. 1 standing on parade on one particular morning at this time with a strength of one officer, one serjeant, and a single private.

Militia bounty was at this time 10*s.* on the attestation of a recruit, 5*s.* 3*d.* per quarter for four years, and 6*s.* 6*d.* per quarter during the last year of service, making 6*l.* in all; but the increased bounty offered to men volunteering for the line, at this time no less than 9*l.*, gives a gauge by which we may always measure the difficulty of getting recruits in this, as we have seen in the case of the old, war. Again we find the officers urged to encourage volunteering; an order of November 20 offering an ensigncy in the line for every seventy-five men who were accepted; and, in connection with this, first appointments of officers to the militia were for the future to be ensigncies instead of sub-lieutenantcies. A draught equal to one-fourth of the strength of the regiment was asked for in 1856; the special inducement was held out of allowing men to count half their militia service as line service, in addition to the advantages offered before; and not less than six or

* 17 Vict., c. 13.

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seven subalterns of the regiment obtained commissions in the army under these regulations in the course of the years 1855 and 1856. Their names, and the regiments to which they were appointed, will be found in the Succession Roll of the Officers at the end of this volume. 1855.

The strength of the North Gloucester was now to be 1,000 men, and active steps were taken to raise this number. A considerable proportion was soon obtained, and every means resorted to for the purpose of getting the men into good order, two parades a day being the usual routine of duty for some time. Much was thus accomplished, and when the half-yearly inspection took place in November by Lieutenant-Colonel Pipon, Assistant-Adjutant-General, the creditable state of the regiment procured a general remission of all punishments. On the day following the inspection, it had the melancholy duty of parading in the market-place in mourning to escort to the railway station the remains of Captain Hopton, who had died a few days before.*

In the month of August the newly raised militia had balloted for their regimental numbers, and "69" fell to the Royal North Gloucester, the number which it holds to the present day. By Her Majesty's regulations militia regiments take rank after the line by the numerical rank thus fixed.

Officers went on leave as usual in the winter; and on the volunteering for the year being closed it was found that the men left in the regiment available for duty amounted to no more than 370.

* About four or five days before, whilst driving a tandem in Lord Bathurst's park, accompanied by his wife and a servant, he was unfortunately thrown out of his carriage, and, notwithstanding every care and immediate assistance, died from concussion of the brain shortly afterwards.

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1856. Early in February 1856 the regiment received orders to move from its head-quarters to the then new hut-encampment at Pembroke Dock; and on February 8, a cold, wet, miserable morning, after much delay at the railway station, it left Cirencester at 8 a.m., having paraded three hours before, and reached Cardiff that evening, where it was billeted for the night. Next day the regiment started again by rail, but with no clear orders; telegraphic messages passed to and fro between the War Office and the regiment all day, and it was continually being stopped at stations on the route waiting for definite instructions. At length the train reached Haverfordwest, and late in the afternoon the regiment was directed to billet there till the following Monday, the real reason being, that, though the regiment had been ordered to march, no provision had been made for it at its destination.

On Monday it marched from Haverfordwest at 8·30 a.m., and, reaching Pembroke Ferry at about mid-day, found that no means of crossing Milford Haven had been provided, nor would the dockyard authorities allow the use of any boats for the purpose. The men, however, got across a few at a time in a ferry-boat and a horse-boat that was pressed into the service, and the regiment at last found itself in its quarters at the Hut Barracks, the first introduction of the new North Gloucester to garrison duties, which were shared with the Royal Monmouth militia, who had been in occupation of the Fort for some time. The Montgomery Rifles and the Pembroke Artillery Militia arrived soon afterwards. The huts, though doubtless of the newest pattern, were contrived so as to combine the greatest amount of discomfort in themselves with the maximum of danger to one other; for the flames issuing from the iron chimney-pipe of the stove of each hut continually threatened the wooden roofs of those standing

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near, whilst the stove itself was so fearfully and wonderfully made that the patient endurance of tropical heat or the full and invigorating draught of a wide-open door were the only alternatives open to the patriotic tenant, who thus illustrated in his daily life his readiness to accept if necessary the "sweet and becoming" liability of sacrificing his life for his country. 1856.

One officer, Captain Mansfield, did nearly succeed in making a burnt-offering of his hut and effects, but the flames were extinguished after the destruction of some of his furniture.

A ball, several brigade-days in April under Colonel Norcott, an inspection in the same month by Colonel Shirley, who commanded the district, and more brigade-days in May, filled up the time; unless the soubriquets of "jester" and "the acrobat," found in MSS. of that date applied to a certain gallant officer, or casual mention of boxing, athletics, or the three-card trick, in the same veracious sources of information, afford ground for suspicion that some leisure was found for lighter amusements, of what nature who shall now say?

The sciences too were not uncultivated by the regiment, for it is recorded that not only was the existence of unwholesome properties in the mess champagne successfully demonstrated to one of its officers by subtle means, but their effects neutralized by simple treatment recommended him by his brother officers, he knowing not till later days of its inefficacy, nor their innocent deceit.

A regimental school was on foot at this time, and its establishment reveals that military routine may be a lower depth of misery to the British militia-man than the painful recollection of his original difficulties with the alphabet, for, says the order-book, "care is to be taken that the men attend the regimental school to improve in learning,

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1856. and not to escape evening parade;" though how the intelligent non-commissioned officer who acted as schoolmaster proceeded to test purity of motive history has not handed down.

On June 4 the regiment paraded at 5·30 a.m. for its return to Cirencester, officers dressed in "blue coats, sashes, and black belts," and proceeded on its homeward way as far as Cardiff, reaching Cirencester next day. There it returned its arms and clothing to the stores, and was once more disbanded on June 12, 1856, receiving for the fourth time in the history of the corps the thanks of both Houses of Parliament, in these terms:—

SIR, War Department, 15 May, 1856.

In pursuance of an order of the House of Lords I have the honor and satisfaction of transmitting to you a copy of two resolutions which passed that House on the 8th inst., and I have to desire that you will take the earliest opportunity of communicating the same to the officers, non-commissioned officers, and men of the corps under your command.

I have the honor to be, Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
PANMURE.

To the Colonel of the
Royal North Gloucester regiment of militia.

This inclosed the following:—

(Copy.)

Die Jovis, 8vo Maii, 1856.

Resolved, Nemine dissentiente; by the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in Parliament assembled,

That the thanks of this House be given to the officers of the several corps of militia which have been embodied in Great Britain and Ireland during the course of the war, for the zealous and meritorious services which at home and abroad they have rendered to their Queen and country.

That this House doth highly approve and acknowledge the services of the non-commissioned officers and men of the several

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corps of militia which have been embodied in Great Britain and Ireland during the course of the war, and that the same be communicated to them by the commanding officers of the several corps, who are desired to thank them for their patriotic conduct. 1856.

A similar communication was received from the House of Commons, which on the same day passed resolutions to the same effect as those of the Upper House, and ordered—

That Mr. Speaker do signify the said resolutions respecting the militia by letter to Her Majesty's Lieutenant of each county, riding, and place in Great Britain, and to His Excellency the Lord-Lieutenant of that part of the United Kingdom called Ireland.

The order of the officer commanding at Pembroke Dock, received shortly after the arrival of the regiment at Cirencester, is also a satisfactory record of its good conduct at that station.

G. O.

Pembroke Dock, 7 June, 1856.

Colonel Norcott cannot permit the Royal North Gloucester and the Royal Montgomery Rifle regiments to leave the garrison, for the purpose of returning to their separate counties, there to be disembodied, without expressing his sense of the high state of discipline and efficiency of both corps.

The attainment of such a state can only have resulted from the zeal and ability of commanding officers, and that ready co-operation and cheerful painstaking of officers and men, which form the basis of all military excellence.

Conspicuous for their conduct in quarters as for their admirable working in the field, it is a source of gratification to Colonel Norcott to remember he had the honour to have them under his command, and to record the same in orders.

There was no training in the spring of 1857, but, the Sepoy Mutiny succeeding the Crimean War, the services

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1857. of the militia were again required to set free a larger portion of the regular army for service in India; and the North Gloucester was again embodied, after an interval of less than a year and a half, on November 3, this time for service in Ireland. A "letter of readiness" was received on the 20th instant for the regiment to proceed for a third time to that portion of the United Kingdom; every preparation was made, and at 6·15 a. m. on the 25th it paraded in the rain in the yard of the Cirencester Railway-station, in complete marching order, for conveyance to Birkenhead, there to be embarked for Dublin on board the "Trafalgar" and the "Prince," coasting steamers, the right wing in the former and the left in the latter vessel. No provision had been made for the men, either on the journey, while at Birkenhead, or on board the vessels, which Colonel Kingscote declined to allow to leave the port until food had been procured. Shortly after daybreak next morning both ships arrived in Dublin Bay, and North Wall was reached at about 11 a. m. The regiment marched through Dublin to the Broadstone Terminus, and started at length for Athlone by train, but slowly enough it moved, as the whole of the rest of the day was spent on the line; the men still being provided with nothing but what their officers were able to procure for them. This had been the case throughout the whole journey of two days and a night, and the men, suffering from extremity of thirst, were reduced to begging earnestly for water at the carriage windows whenever the train stopped.

The journey is thus described by one of the travellers:—

In November 1857 we fell in on a wet morning at 5·30 a.m., got down to Birkenhead at 6·30 p.m., found that there was no provision for feeding upwards of 450 men on either of the two steamers waiting to convey us to Dublin. Some of the officers went ashore and returned with a boat or two filled with bread

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and cheese for the use of men who, never having been at sea before, did not particularly appreciate that kind of diet. On landing we marched to the station, and after some unavoidable delay we proceeded on our journey to Athlone. The men were locked into the carriages, and suffered from intense thirst, to allay which, a further issue of that succulent diet bread and cheese was immediately made. It was dark when we reached Athlone. The barrack rooms were made ready and comfortable for their reception through the instrumentality of the Depôt-Major (Nason), and even coffee was not forgotten, but the hour was a late one and the men were tired. Inventories in barrack rooms were not properly compared and scrutinised, consequently, on giving up the barracks two months later, about the middle of January, copper coalscuttles and other trifles were for the first time brought to the notice of officers commanding companies by the barrack-master's charges for articles which had never put in an appearance except on the inventory board. 1857.

Duty at Athlone was undertaken on November 27; Colonel Kingscote was in command of the garrison, composed of the depôts of the 36th, 59th, and 67th regiments, in addition to the North Gloucester, which sent a detachment of eighty-three men with Captain Jones and Lieutenants Hunte and Rabbitts to Mullingar on December 8. After the regiment had been at Athlone about a month, and in consequence, as it was understood, of an old feud between the 30th regiment and the battalion of Guards at the Royal Barracks, Dublin, breaking out afresh, the 30th were removed to the Ship Street Barracks, and the North Gloucester were brought in from Athlone to occupy the quarters thus vacated. The regiment proceeded from Athlone to Dublin on January 14, 1858, and was to pick up the detachment at Mullingar on the road. The following order was issued the morning before their departure:—

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1858. G. O.

Athlone, 13 January, 1858.

The Royal North Gloucester regiment of militia being under orders to proceed from this station to Dublin to-morrow morning, Lieutenant-Colonel Goodenough, commanding the garrison, begs to assure Lieutenant-Colonel Wallington that the sobriety and general demeanour of the corps under his command during its stay at Athlone have met with the warmest approbation, and Lieutenant-Colonel Goodenough takes this opportunity of expressing to him, the officers, non-commissioned, and men, his thanks for the very good conduct of all whilst serving at the garrison.

Next day's orders are dated at the Royal Barracks, Dublin, where the regiment was attached to the 1st Brigade of the Division, under the command of Major-General Gascoyne, the other quarters in the same barracks being occupied by the 2nd battalion of Coldstream Guards and the 1st Royal Dragoons.

Nothing more important is recorded for some time than the furnishing of a guard of honour, with the Queen's colour and the band, at the Castle on the occasion of the embarkation of the Lord Lieutenant for England in March,* and the lining of the streets of Dublin by the garrison on the arrival of the new viceroy, Lord Eglinton (by whom Lieutenant A. P. Cockerell of the Royal North Gloucester regiment was appointed an A. D. C.) a few days after, when the regiment occupied Dame Street, leading to the Castle from Trinity College, hearing, though not eye-witness, of the collision between the police and the students of that institution, which marked the occasion.

Garrison theatricals are recorded in February, and again in March, Castle levées and a ball on March 26; the

* Lord Carlisle, resigning office on a change of ministry.

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splendid hospitality of the Lord Lieutenant on the occasion of the latter festivity being only surpassed by that of the Captain on guard at the Castle (need it be said that he belonged to the Royal North Gloucester regiment), who "received" all night a distinguished succession of officers of every branch of the service, and is said to have expended a sum of no less than 5*l.* on soda-water and brandy only. Is it wonderful that the Irish recollections of the regiment are stored with incidents of a more humorous nature than would have fallen to their lot on this side of the Channel? Would cold potatoes have been found on a man's head under his chaco anywhere but in Ireland? Yet history records that the commanding officer of a gallant regiment then at Dublin, and quartered in the Royal Barracks, going round the rooms and seeing a man wearing that article of dress a little on one side, lifted it to put it straight, and, horror-struck, was driven to exclaim, "I knew it! I smelt them!!" on discovering under it, to his astonishment, a quantity of that national vegetable, cooked and ready for use. 1858.

These things, and such as these, some of them perhaps true, are written in the cheerful journals of the subaltern of that day, guiltless of dates. Pass we from them to professional details, and there is but one note of a field-day during this festive time, viz. on April 12, when the North Gloucester were brigaded with the Coldstream Guards and the 76th regiment, on the esplanade, for inspection by Lord Seaton. Routine duties were however heavy, so much so that only one commanding officer's parade was possible in a week.

Later in the month the North Gloucester was warned to be ready for return to their own head-quarters at the beginning of May.

The following order is dated May 1, 1858:—

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1858. BRIGADE ORDER.

SIR, Adjutant-General's Office, Dublin.

The General commanding, having received the accompanying instructions relative to the disembodiment of part of the militia force serving in Ireland, avails himself of the occasion of transmitting Colonel Larcom's letter to you for the information of the officers commanding the North Gloucester, 4th Middlesex, Shropshire, and Aberdeen regiments of militia, to request that those officers and the officers of their regiments will accept his thanks for their active and zealous attention in carrying on the duties on which they have been employed since they have been in this country, and to express his satisfaction at the good conduct of their corps and their high state of discipline, so favourably mentioned in the reports of the General officers under whose immediate command they have been placed.

I have the honour to be, Sir,
Your obedient servant,
J. W. WOOD, D. A. G.

Colonel Larcom had been commanded by the Lord-Lieutenant to convey to the commanding officers of the several corps, through the proper military channels, the expression of the very great satisfaction which Her Majesty had received from the exemplary services of the corps under their command, and to acquaint the commanding officers that Her Majesty was pleased to grant certain allowance to the officers and men on their disembodiment, viz.: six months' pay to the subalterns, and a year's pay to the surgeon and assistant-surgeon, to the men fourteen days' pay and the unissued portion of their year's bounty.

The order of the General commanding is a testimonial even better worth recording, and the more so, as it is the last that the regiment has had the opportunity of earning on embodied service. The reports of general officers, same if they be in their terms of approval, are not without value and importance in the history of a regiment of militia,

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for that force has, perhaps happily, no other means of proving its readiness to share in such services as those which have enabled the infantry of the line to prove themselves the best soldiers in the world, than by exhibiting its discipline by a course of invariable good conduct, and by efficient and willing performance of those routine duties which fall to its lot. 1858.

BRIGADE ORDER.

Dublin, 7th May, 1858.

The Royal North Gloucester regiment being about to proceed to England, Major-General Gough cannot allow it to embark without expressing his entire satisfaction with the conduct of the regiment during the period it has been in his brigade. To Colonel Kingscote and the officers the Major-General begs to return his best thanks for the zeal and ability with which they have performed their duty, which, together with the extreme good conduct of the soldiers, has rendered the Royal North Gloucester militia one of the most orderly and efficient corps he has had under his command.

The professional soldier knows best that duties are not the more easily performed because they are dull and routine, and that to maintain a reputation for efficiency and discipline during a long series of years implies steady perseverance, that is not the less creditable because it owes nothing to the high pressure and excitement of the prospect of glorious service in the field. We may fairly trust that a militia regiment whose discipline in billet, barrack, and camp will bear comparison with that of its regular brethren, would, if called upon, prove not unworthy to stand shoulder to shoulder with regiments of the line.

On May 8 the regiment paraded in marching order at 11·30 a.m. for embarkation to Bristol, and marched to Westland Row Station. Proceeding to Kingstown by rail, they embarked in the "Pacific," and sailing at 4 p.m.

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1858. returned to England, arriving at Kingroad at 2·30 a.m. on the following morning. Steam-tugs conveyed the regiment to Bristol, and, taking the Great Western Railway, the North Gloucester reached Cirencester at mid-day on May 10. It was finally disbanded eight days afterwards, May 18, 1858.

From that day to this no more active service has been required from the North Gloucester than is involved in its annual training at its own head-quarters. But the design of these pages has been to note the conduct and whereabouts of the regiment from its origin to the time when it may be said to have ceased to be a "county force," in the historical sense in which the militia has been so from the earliest times. This radical change took place in 1872,* when Gloucestershire became military sub-district No. 37, with its depôt centre or head-quarters at Bristol, and with Colonel the Hon. J. J. Bourke as its first commandant.

Each of these sub-districts, of which there are in all seventy, is the home of a brigade, consisting of two battalions of the line theoretically linked together, and to be treated more as if two battalions of the same regiment than as distinct corps, of the militia, and of the local volunteers.

The linked-battalions at Bristol are the 28th and 69th regiments of the line, selected for that centre because they bear the appellation of "North Gloucestershire" and "South Gloucestershire" respectively. One of those is supposed to be always abroad and the other at home, the one at home relieving and supplying the other; and to them are attached as reserves the North and South Gloucester militia regiments, the duty of inspecting which, when trained within the limits of the district, devolves on the commandant; and both are supplemented by the various

* 34 and 35 Vict., c. 86.

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corps of Gloucestershire volunteers. The militia thus becomes a portion of a national reserve force, organized on an imperial instead of a local system, which has adopted the quotas and establishments that it found ready made to its hand, and such portion of the machinery for raising them as would not be thrown out of working order by altered control. 1858-72.

We have already, in 1799 and the following years, seen a new use made of the militia system, and that use ripening gradually into an established practice. We have seen its importance as a purely defensive force diminish, and its value as a supply for the Line increase, until it may almost be said that the nominal object of the militia has been subjected, at all events in time of war, to its value in use as a conduit-pipe for the army.

In theory, however, it still remains on an unaltered basis, in spite of altered circumstances, and the militia of the present day becomes a sort of compromise between an independent service and an army-reserve.

On the one hand strenuous efforts are made to raise the standard of its efficiency as if it were a service of itself; the popular cry is to make the force better worth the money spent on it; its periods of training are lengthened, and it is brigaded as much as possible with the Line, in a way that renders comparison inevitable, and intolerable without still further improvement. On the other hand, it has been attempted, since 1868, to make the force, or a portion of it, into a supply for the Line, by means of the plan known as "the Militia Reserve," which offers to a per-centage of the men a double annual bounty after the expiration of their second training, on condition of their readiness to be draughted into the ranks of the army for temporary service in times of war.

If these two objects were compatible we should doubtless

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1858-72. have a distinct and efficient home force, of which a portion would be available when required for actual service in the army. The theoretical constitution of the militia would be found capable of adapting itself to the necessities of modern times. It is almost certain that this is not the case, and for various reasons. One of the lessons to be derived from the late great Continental wars seems likely to be that the conditions of modern warfare are incompatible with the old English Militia theory. The higher and more scientific standard of efficiency now thought necessary for any force which is to constitute a distinct arm, to be kept ready and fit to stand alone, or in line with regular troops, seems gradually getting beyond the reach of any service which is not rendered too onerous for the classes who aim at combining in times of peace agricultural or other vocations with an amount of military service that they are not willing to extend into professional soldiering until war disorganizes industries and work becomes scarce.

The energetic militia officer will be loath to admit that the further improvement of the force as at present constituted is limited by the length of time that can be spared from civil life; but there are some signs that the requirements of the service are liable to become more than can be easily reconciled with those of the rest of the year. It is known to many militia officers that any disinclination to enter "the militia reserve" is attributable, not so much to indisposition on the part of the men to extend their obligations for an adequate bounty, as to a reluctance to remain longer on any terms in a service already somewhat unattractive.

That it should be unattractive is an inevitable condition of things whilst the service is maintained somewhat illogically on its present basis. Harmonising the theory of the militia with the use practically made of it would go

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far to settle its difficulties. It is not now a new suggestion,* 1858-72.
but incomparably the best of the many that have recently been made, that if the service were definitely made what it practically becomes, and if the present bounty system were somewhat modified, not only would its old popularity be restored, but it would be able to carry the obligation of army service in time of actual war.

In the first place it would not be necessary to interfere with the occupations by which the men must support themselves during eleven months out of the twelve. A force whose primary object is to furnish to the line in times of need draughts of half-made soldiers would not require more training than is compatible with the duties of civil life.† Camps and flying column experience would not only be unnecessary for it, but would be putting "the cart before the horse," and an unfit appropriation of the short annual training. This would be invaluable and long enough if devoted to the quiet and undistracted acquirement of some notion of the A B C of military drill and discipline, at a time of year when the undivided attention of competent instructors could be given to it. In a large number of cases militia men come from camping under canvas and from autumn manœuvres disgusted with hardships of which their inexperience has prevented them seeing more than the worst side, or turning to any good account; and as a rule they decline to "take on again" at the expiration of their term of service.

In the second place, there is no doubt, indeed everything in these pages has indicated, that the greatest temptation

* Of an officer of lengthened experience.

† A militia regiment can appear as clean and smart for inspection at the end of a month's teaching, and as efficient, as far as parade goes, as it would if it were trained for double that period; what is required to turn its men into soldiers is not to be gained by a somewhat longer training, nor by anything short of actual embodiment.

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1858-72. to enroll is the offer of a substantial bounty *paid down on enrolment*. Men usually join the service when out of work or under the pressure of some temporary and pressing necessity, which a comparatively small sum of money goes far to alleviate. Of the present bounty too small a portion is paid down. A large proportion of the class from which the militia is at present recruited would unhesitatingly accept a fair offer of bounty on enrolment, although coupled with an extended obligation, and would be content enough to run the chance of there being no war during their limited period of service, if its ordinary conditions were not rendered uninviting.

An appropriate training at an appropriate time of year —nothing can be better than twenty-seven days in May— with the attraction of a somewhat larger portion of their bounty, say 1*l.* as formerly, instead of half that sum as at present, being obtainable on enrolling, would probably suffice to maintain the force at its present strength; and, more than that, might be made to secure a supply of men for the army when most required, which the army itself could not draw from the population in any other way.

In the history of an individual regiment there is, however, no place for ventilating theories, nor room for discussing their details at any useful length, without dropping for too long the thread of the narrative; and militia reform is so intimately connected with general army re-organization, that to discuss even that part of the question by the light of mere militia history might almost require an apology, did it not seem to actually suggest a mode in which all danger of recruiting against the line (a danger very apparent to those who are not aware that the ranks of the militia are chiefly filled with men who do *not* mean soldiering as a profession, at all events "in the piping times of peace," and who could not be got at first-

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hand for the line even if the militia did not exist) may be obviated, and yet the quotas kept ready to hand, which were formerly only supplied by volunteering under high bounties in the very face of pressing need. Militia history has a use if it indicates how a gap may be stopped, until time matures, or necessity forces on the country, some large scheme of general military organization. This will not be the work of a day, especially if compulsory service, with all its unpopularity, is to form any part of the plan. Till then, it will surely be as well to keep in hand the large force at present supplied by the militia, and to utilize it as much as we can. It is quite possible to make it an attractive and a more useful service by one and the same step. To disband it is to lose the men altogether, whatever military critics who have no *personal* knowledge of militiamen in their every-day life may say to the contrary. 1858-72.

Can the force, such as it is, be spared? Where would the line be on the outbreak of war to-morrow without the militia to turn to for the recruits that under our present system it cannot procure for itself? Ask the recruiting department how many of the same men it could have procured in the last war from the civil community at first hand? Under a French or Prussian system the case would be different; but at present to abolish the militia without substituting some equally certain supply for the line in time of war would be simply to sacrifice both.

The life of the North Gloucester regiment recorded to 1872 may be said to have lasted one hundred and eleven years, more than a fourth part of which—nearly thirty years—have been passed on embodied service. At the date of its last disembodiment it had fourteen still to pass, and these, it may be hoped, it has not spent unprofitably in maintaining the credit it is at that time

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1858-72. allowed to have earned.* Shall we comment in detail on its annual gatherings and its annual inspections, or on those marked with the "white stone" of special incident, such as that of 1863, when, after the inspection of the regiment by Colonel Bruncker,† it was presented with a new pair of colours by the Lady Emily Kingscote, wife of its honorary colonel; or that of ten years later, when it was reviewed by Lieut.-General Sir Charles Staveley, K.C.B., the officer then commanding the Western District, in the training of 1873; on pleasant, if not instructive, field-days in Earl Bathurst's park, sometimes brigaded with the local volunteers; or on the liberality and kindness which places the most beautiful and picturesque drill-ground in England at the disposal of the regiment? Shall we comment on the good Gloucestershire blood that has ever been found amongst its officers; on the many friends that now, as in former days, they are able to assemble on occasion round their mess-table on Cicely Hill;‡ or again

* It has trained for twenty-eight days every spring, in the months of April or May, with two exceptions, in 1859 and 1873, when the training lasted for twenty-one days only; and it has been inspected by various officers, amongst them Colonel MacMurdo, C.B., Major-General Rumley, twice by Colonel Pipon, Inspector General of Militia, and twice by Lieutenant-Colonel Eager of the 31st regiment. Since 1870 it has been inspected by Colonel the Hon. J. J. Bourke every year; but from 1872, in his official capacity as commandant of the Bristol sub-district. The recruits of the year have received preliminary drill for periods varying in different years from fourteen to forty-two days, previously to the commencement of the training, joining the ranks when the regiment assembled. Its strength, of between 700 and 800 men, has varied but slightly; although its nominal establishment was raised to 993 privates in 1867.

† Who took occasion to state that the regiment looked more as if it had been embodied for twelve months than trained for twenty-one days.

‡ The rather magnificent but singularly inconvenient building, resembling an Edwardian castle, which is now used by the North Gloucester militia as armoury and storehouse, was erected by the county in 1857 for those purposes; a portion of its east wing was converted some seven years ago into a mess-house for the officers of the regiment, at the joint expense of the county and the mess.

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on its well-drilled staff and well-filled ranks? All these 1858-72
things have combined to make the North Gloucester what it is to those who are attached to it in both senses of the word (long may it be before the hand of so-called Reform deprives the regiment of its local advantages, some of which, it may safely be said, are almost unrivalled), but they are rather personal matters than fit for formal record. Nor would petty professional details be either instructive or amusing. Many a page might be filled with minute alterations in the rates of pay and allowances, and in the dress both of officers and men; but details such as these, interesting enough in their place when used as illustrations of the life and manners of other times, would be wearisome enough if they formed the bulk of a modern story. Something must be left for posterity, and it will no doubt be recorded with fond interest by the archæological New Zealander who is fortunate enough to exhume the archives of Sub-district 37 at Horfield, then probably buried as deep as are now the ruins of Troy or Jerusalem, that about the year 1860 a rifled musket called the "Enfield" was issued to a force called the "Militia," and that ten years afterwards those weapons were reconstructed so as to load at the breech, and were re-named "Sniders;" that the officers of that force kept their swords at one time in black leather, and at another in steel, scabbards; sometimes wore blue frock-coats, and sometimes patrol-jackets. It may be that he will earn literary distinction by a learned essay, "On the letters R. N. G. M. and the mystic cuneiform character ⋀ impressed on some articles found in the western part of England." This field must be left to him.

One annual training has been like another; little but the weather and the name of the officer commissioned to inspect the regiment would be found to vary the account

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1858-72. from year to year, and, if a shadow crossed its pages, it would be that now and then a familiar and honoured name might be missed from the roll. Would that he * still lived who planned this notice, now less worthily finished, of

THE ROYAL NORTH GLOUCESTER MILITIA.

* See Preface.

ADDENDA.

Page 27, last paragraph. William fourth Lord Chandos, brother to Gyles who died in Feb. 1593-4.

Page 35. The disloyal conduct of Nathaniel Stephens, and the fatal sickness with which he was seized a few months after his acquiescence in the King's death, gave rise to the legend of Chavenage.

Page 61, line 4 from bottom. Under the provisions of 26 Geo. III. c. 107, which repealed all preceding legislation, and amended it by the light of the experience gained in the two embodiments of 1761 and 1778.

Page 67, last line. Under 38 Geo. III. c. 18.

„ 68, line 4. 37 Geo. III. c. 3, amended by c. 22.

„ 82, „ 16. Add the "9th" to the 53rd and 56th regiments.

„ 83, *note*. Add, Home Office Records, Militia, Miscellaneous, 1798-1802.

Page 147, line 5. The Act 18 Vict. c. 1, which enabled militia regiments to serve abroad during the war, and under which various British possessions were garrisoned for a time by the militia, should be mentioned, although it did not affect the North Gloucester, as being a fresh illustration of the tendency, observed since 1799, to encroach on or extend the old constitutional province of the militia.

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APPENDIX.

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APPENDIX A.

LISTS OF OFFICERS OF THE ROYAL NORTH GLOUCESTER MILITIA.

[NOTE.—It has proved impossible, owing to want of continuity in such records as are now in existence, to form anything like a chronological roll of the officers who served in the North Gloucester prior to 1852; and the only possible course has been to reprint some of the lists which remain, to show the constitution of the regiment at certain dates, such as 1780; 1794, just after it was embodied for a long period of service; 1799, when in Ireland; 1804, when re-embodied for a long term; 1810, in the middle, and 1814, at the expiration, of that period. One such list for 1825, and another for 1852, the former early in, and the latter at the end of, the long disembodiment, show how commissions were given by the Lord Lieutenant from time to time during that interval.

It is believed that every name of note, especially if not to be found in any extant "list," has been mentioned in the course of the record. The original list of officers in 1761 is given at p. 50.]

1780.

Gloucestershire (Northern) 29.*

COLONEL: Samuel Blackwell . . .	20 April, 1763. Army, 2 July, 1779.
MAJOR: W. H. Hartley	21 April, 1763.

* The Gloucestershire militia before 1833 were distinguished at one time by the number 29, afterwards by 8, then 7.

Since that year each regiment has had a number of its own, which numbers were resettled in 1855. (See pages 62, 147.)

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CAPTAINS:

John Shepperd	20 June, 1760.
Thomas Tyndale	21 April, 1763.
John Day	21 April, 1764.
Thomas Haynes	23 June, 1769.
Thomas Saunders	14 Dec. 1776.
W. Hayward Winstone.	

LIEUTENANTS:

Edmund Turberville	4 April, 1761.
William Bennet	27 April, 1773.
Thomas Nicholls	9 April, 1774.
Henry Cripps	14 April, 1778.
John Parsons.	
Thomas Jayne	'78.

ENSIGNS:

Mark Davis	9 March, 1778.
William Buckle	10 March, 1778.
William Hare	26 March, 1778.
Ebenezer Davies	27 March, 1778.
Lionel Bayzand	28 March, 1778.
John Jones	28 March, 1778.

ADJUTANT: Thomas Haynes.

QUARTER-MASTER: Edmund Turberville . 26 March, 1778.

SURGEON: Ebenezer Davies . . 27 March, 1778.

AGENTS: Messrs. Bishopp and Brummell, Vine Street, Piccadilly.

1794.

COLONEL: Robert Kingscote	31 March, 1794.
LIEUT. COLONEL: Purnell Purnell	31 March, 1794.
MAJOR: Henry Howard	31 March, 1794.

CAPTAINS:

William Buckle.	
W. Champion Crespigny	20 Feb. 1793.
Moore Adey	19 March, 1794.
Hon. T—— Moreton	20 March, 1794.

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LIEUTENANTS:

John Moreton Pleydell.	
Edward Turberville	25 Jan. 1793.
Lyde Brown	21 March, 1793.
William Butt	11 May, 1793.
John Carisbrook	19 March, 1794.
Matthew Windey	20 March, 1794.

ENSIGNS:

Ebenezer Davies.	
William Weal Darke	21 March, 1793.
Joseph Butt	31 March, 1794.
Samuel Neal Badcock	14 April, 1794.

ADJUTANT: William Gould.

QUARTER-MASTER: Edward Turberville.

SURGEON: William Weal Darke 1 April, 1794.

AGENT: Mr. Bownas, Spring Gardens.

1799.

COLONEL: Robert Kingscote 13 March, 1794.

LIEUT.-COLONEL: Henry Howard 24 Nov. 1798.

MAJORS:

W. C. Crespigny, bart.	
W. M. Adey	24 Nov. 1798.

CAPTAINS:

Hon Thomas Moreton	20 March, 1794.
John Carisbrook	11 Dec. 1794.
John Larton	12 April, 1795.
Henry Sloper	18 Dec. 1797.
W. G. Adey	2 Feb. 1798.
William B. Guise, bart.	8 June, 1798.

CAPTAIN-LIEUTENANT and CAPTAIN: M. Windey 24 Nov. 1798.

LIEUTENANTS:

Joseph Butt	26 April, 1794.
Thomas Smith	20 Sept. 1795.
William Butt	23 Feb. 1796.
Henry H. Willis	24 Feb. 1796.

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Richard Carisbrook	13 Oct. 1796.
W. L. Mealin	29 Aug. 1797.
Samuel Higgs	27 Aug. 1797.
Henry Keyworth	8 June, 1798.
John Hastings	9 June, 1798.
James Mathews	10 June, 1798.
W. Steward Griffiths	12 June, 1798.
John Dark	13 June, 1798.
John Cook	14 June, 1798.
Walter Coleman	15 June, 1798.
Thomas A. Taylor	17 June, 1798.
Charles Dunn	5 July, 1798.
Delabere Blaine	6 July, 1798.
Charles Cooper	21 July, 1798.
Thomas Woods	28 July, 1798.
John Fisher Hope	18 August, 1798.
ENSIGN: Andrew P. Coultstring	18 Sept. 1798.
ADJUTANT: William Savage	14 Sept. 1798.
QUARTER-MASTER: Anthony Tipping	25 June, 1796.
SURGEON: John Hastings	25 July, 1796.

1804.

COLONEL: Robert Kingscote.

LIEUT.-COLONEL: Hon. Henry Howard.

MAJORS:

W. M. Adey.	
John Larton	7 July, 1803.

CAPTAINS:

W. B. Guise, bart.	
M. Windey	11 June, 1799.
James Mathews	21 June, 1799.
Henry Lippincott, bart.	26 Sept. 1802.
Edward Webb	22 March, 1803.
R. H. B. Hale	9 April, 1803.
J. F. Hope	25 April, 1803.
E. Lord de Clifford	7 July, 1803.

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Charles Higgs . . . . . 8 July, 1803.
Samuel White . . . . . 9 July, 1803.
S. P. Paul . . . . . 22 April, 1804.

CAPTAIN-LIEUTENANT and CAPTAIN: S. Higgs.

LIEUTENANTS:

John Cook.
Charles Cooper.
Francis Ryan . . . . . 29 July, 1799.
J. B. Gregory . . . . . 4 April, 1803.
William Read . . . . . 5 April, 1803.
Charles Read . . . . . 19 April, 1803.
W. James Long . . . . . 7 July, 1803.
John Selwyn . . . . . 2 August, 1803.
J. Alexander Wilson . . . 24 Oct. 1803.
T. E. Biederman . . . . . 3 April, 1804.
Frederick Eguino . . . . . 4 April, 1804.

ENSIGNS:

Samuel Franklin . . . . . 24 Oct. 1803.
Jackson Clark . . . . . 29 Feb. 1804.
Francis Shuckburgh . . . . 22 April, 1804.

ADJUTANT: Windey.

QUARTER-MASTER: Gaze . . . . 7 July, 1804.

SURGEON: Filkins . . . . . 12 March, 1803.

1810.

North Gloucestershire (7).

COLONEL: Robert Kingscote . . . 31 March, 1794.

LIEUT.-COLONEL: Henry Howard . . 28 Nov. 1798.

MAJOR: S. P. Paul . . . . . 5 Sept. 1809.

CAPTAINS:

James Matthews.
R. H. Blagden-Hale.
Edward Lord de Clifford.
Samuel White.
John Cook . . . . . 22 April, 1807.
J. Barnes Gregory . . . . . 28 April, 1807.

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Charles Greenaway . . . . 5 Sept. 1807.
William Owen Brigstock . . . . 14 Nov. 1807.

LIEUTENANTS:

Samuel Higgs . . . . . 21 August, 1799.
Jackson Clark . . . . . 27 May, 1805.
Thomas Barker . . . . . 3 August, 1805.
James Robins . . . . . 4 August, 1805.
Thomas Taylor . . . . . 21 May, 1808.
Henry Dickinson . . . . . 4 July, 1808.
Sam Albini Saunders . . . . 10 May, 1809.
Thomas Vaugham. . . . . 5 Sept. 1809.
Joseph Hutchinson . . . . . 28 Sept. 1809.
James Griffiths . . . . . 3 Nov. 1809.

ENSIGNS:

William Holbrow . . . . . 5 Jan. 1810.
James Long . . . . . 17 April, 1810.

ADJUTANT: Matthew Windey . . . 7 June, 1799.
QUARTER-MASTER: James Gaze . . . 7 July, 1803.
SURGEON: Richard Filkin . . . . 25 June, 1808.
AGENT: Mr. Bownas, Derby Street.

1814.

COLONEL: Robert Kingscote.
LIEUT-COLONEL: E. Lord de Clifford . . 1 July, 1811.
MAJOR: Edward Holwell . . . . 25 May, 1813.

CAPTAINS:

James Matthews . . . . 11 June, 1799.
W. O. Brigstock . . . . 19 Nov. 1709.
Samuel Saunders . . . . 9 March, 1812.
Henry White . . . . . 10 Nov. 1812.
Thomas Taylor . . . . 30 March, 1813.
William Holbrow . . . . 17 Sept. 1813.
Thomas Vaughan . . . . 14 Jan. 1814.
Joseph Matthews . . . . 15 Jan. 1814.

LIEUTENANTS:

Samuel Higgs . . . . . 21 Aug. 1799.

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Thomas Barker . . . . 3 Aug. 1805.
Thomas James Welles . . . 30 March, 1813.
John Edmund Denham . . . 17 Sept. 1813.
William Green . . . . . 14 Jan. 1814.
Henry Wenman Newman . . . 15 Jan. 1814.
Moyston Jones . . . . . 16 Jan. 1814.
Robert Collins . . . . . 14 Feb. 1814.

ENSIGN: Henry Bailey . . . . 25 March, 1814.
ADJUTANT: Thomas Bradstock . . . 7 May, 1813.
PAYMASTER: Samuel Higgs.
QUARTER-MASTER: Gaze.
SURGEON: Filkins.

1825.

COLONEL: Robert Kingscote.
LIEUT-COLONEL: William Hicks-Beach . 4 May, 1825.
MAJOR: Walter Paul. . . . . 28 May, 1821.
CAPTAINS:
S. Saunders.
W. Holbrow.
T. Vaughan.
John Cook . . . . . 17 June, 1815.
J. B. Gregory . . . . . 17 June, 1815.
H. W. Newman . . . . 1821.
William Goldney . . . . 10 June, 1825.
LIEUTENANTS:
Thomas Barker . . . . 3 Aug. 1805.
Robert Collins (Surgeon's Mate). . 14 Feb. 1814.
Thomas Bailey . . . . . 1820.
Weston Haimes . . . . 25 June, 1821.
Richard Walwyn Foley (Paymaster) . 25 Jan. 1825.
ENSIGN: John Evalt Acklom . . . 8 Oct. 1822.
ADJUTANT: Bradstock.
QUARTER-MASTER: John Mosley. . . 25 August, 1819.
SURGEON: Filkins.

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1852.

COLONEL: T. H. Kingscote	22 Feb. 1840.
LIEUT.-COLONEL: Sir M. H. Hicks-Beach, bart.	10 Feb. 1844.
CAPTAINS:	
Thomas Vaughan	14 Jan. 1814.
J. M. P. Hopton	11 July, 1831.
John Haythorn	12 Feb. 1846.
Alexander B. Rooke	13 April, 1846.
Jer. Parkinson	14 April, 1846.
George C. Sawyer	4 August, 1846.
H. B. Williams	8 May, 1847.
L. M. Strachey	26 Sept. 1851.
LIEUTENANTS:	
A. W. Burkett	14 Jan. 1831.
Alexander F. G. Hornsby	25 March, 1831.
E. W. A. Vaughan	2 March, 1838.
Edward Hopkins	3 August, 1838.
Struan Robertson	14 April, 1846.
J. W. Dutton	26 March, 1849.
ENSIGNS:	
Augustin Jones	13 April, 1846.
W. A. Chamberlain	14 April, 1846.
CAPTAIN and ADJUTANT: John Tobin	9 April, 1846.
SURGEON: Richard Filkin	25 June, 1808.

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Roll of the Officers who held Commissions in the Royal North Gloucester Militia in October, 1852, and the succession from that date.

Names.	Ensign.	Lieutenant.	Captain.	Major.	Lieut.-Colonel.	Colonel.	Remarks.
Thomas Henry Kingscote	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	22 Feb. 1840	Died Dec. 1861. See page 143
Sir Michael H. Hicks-Beach, bart.	.....	.....	.....	.....	10 Feb. 1844	.....	Died 1854
John Williams Wallington	.....	.....	.....	7 Sept. 1852	16 Dec. 1854	.....	Late 83rd Regiment and 3rd Light Dragoons, Lieut.-Col. Commandant since 1862; effective in 1874, hon. rank of Colonel *
Thomas Vaughan	.....	.....	14 Jan. 1814	.....	.....	.....	Resigned Feb. 1855
James Michael Parsons Hopton	.....	.....	11 July 1831	.....	.....	.....	Died 1855
Jer. Parkinson.....	.....	.....	14 Apr. 1846	.....	.....	.....	Resigned April, 1855
Henry Bold Williams.....	.....	.....	8 May 1847	30 June 1859	.....	.....	Late 54th Regiment, resigned Sept. 1867
L. M. Strachey.....	.....	.....	26 Sept. 1851	.....	.....	.....	Late H.E.I.C.S. resigned May, 1860
Charles Castle	.....	.....	5 Oct. 1852	29 Mar. 1862	.....	.....	Resigned April, 1862
Edward Andrew Noel.....	.....	.....	16 Oct. 1852	.....	.....	.....	Resigned Nov. 1854
Alexander Francis George Hornsby	.....	25 Mar. 1831	.....	.....	.....	.....	Resigned before June, 1853
Edward William Ambrose Vaughan	.....	2 Mar. 1838	15 Apr. 1853	20 Sept. 1867	.....	.....	Retired with honorary rank of Lieut.-Colonel, June, 1869
William Adam Chamberlain	14 Apr. 1846	3 Dec. 1852	.....	.....	.....	.....	Resigned 1853

* By a circular of 1869, officers retiring after fifteen years' service, of which ten has been in the militia, are permitted to retain their rank, and wear the uniform of their regiments. They are granted a step of honorary rank on retiring, in the case of—

Field-officers, Captains, Lieutenants } after { 25, 20, 15 } years' service, of which { 15, 15, 10 } has been in the militia.

By a circular of 1870 these steps are granted to officers of the above rank and standing respectively, without their being required to retire; and by another of 1872 they are allowed to reckon embodied time double.

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Names.	Ensign.	Lieutenant.	Captain.	Major.	Lt.-Col.	Remarks.
Sir John Maxwell Steele-Graves, bart.	.....	.....	25 Dec. 1852	26 Apr. 1862	.....	Resigned March 1872; joined as Captain; assumed the additional name of Graves by Royal Licence in 1862
Edward Cripps.....	15 Oct. 1852	2 Nov. 1852	.....	.....	.....	Afterwards appointed Assistant Surgeon
James Bontein.....	.....	30 Oct. 1852	.....	.....	.....	Resigned Dec. 1854
William Thomas Keen Perry Keen	.....	31 Dec. 1852	27 Feb. 1855	.....	.....	Resigned March, 1858
Henry Miller	14 Oct. 1852	31 Dec. 1852	.....	.....	.....	Resigned Feb. 1855, on appointment to Land Transport Corps
William Francis Heideman	2 Nov. 1852	31 Dec. 1852	5 Apr. 1855	.....	.....	Resigned Dec. 1857
John Jones	.....	8 Feb. 1853	12 Apr. 1853	12 June 1869	.....	Late H.E.I.C.S. retired with honorary rank of Lieut-Colonel, March, 1870
J. F. Lees.....	.....	8 Feb. 1853	.....	.....	.....	Resigned March, 1855
W. H. G. Cornwall.....	.....	8 Apr. 1853	.....	.....	.....	Resigned Jan. 1855, on appointment to 41st Regiment
G. P. Prevost	.....	30 Apr. 1853	.....	.....	.....	Resigned Jan. 1854
Allen Alexander Bathurst	.....	27 Sept. 1853	14 Nov. 1854	22 Mar. 1870	.....	Effective in 1874; M.P. for Cirencester
William Brookes.....	.....	3 Jan. 1854	11 Dec. 1855	11 Mar. 1872	.....	Effective in 1874
Charles Hawkins Fisher...	3 Jan. 1854	29 Aug. 1854	4 Mar. 1858	.....	.....	Effective in 1874; honorary rank of Major
Nathaniel Frederick Ellison	.....	24 Jan. 1854	21 Dec. 1857	.....	.....	Resigned April, 1867
Robert Beckles Hunte ...	17 Mar. 1854	10 Nov. 1854	30 June 1859	.....	.....	Late 3rd West India and 82nd Regiments; effective in 1874; honorary rank of Major
Henry Charles, Viscount Andover	12 Dec. 1854	29 Dec. 1854	22 May 1860	.....	.....	Resigned May, 1870
Henry Bourchier Osborne Savile	.....	.....	.....	16 Dec. 1854	.....	Late R.A.; resigned June, 1859; joined as Major
Charles Mansfield	16 Dec. 1854	13 Feb. 1855	7 May 1862	.....	.....	Resigned 1866
Thomas Merrett	16 Dec. 1854	27 Feb. 1855	.....	.....	.....	Resigned Jan. 1856, on appointment to 3rd Regiment

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Elliott Arthur Raymond	16 Dec. 1854	.....	.....	.....	.....	Resigned Feb. 1855, on appointment to 44th Regiment
Cecil Frederick Holder ...	26 Dec. 1854	20 Feb. 1855	.....	.....	.....	Resigned May, 1855, on appointment to 62nd Regiment
Thomas Mansfield James	26 Dec. 1854	20 Feb. 1855	.....	.....	.....	Resigned June, 1855, on appointment to 42nd Regiment
Newton Jones Pauli.....	6 Jan. 1855	3 Apr. 1855	.....	.....	.....	Resigned May, 1856, on appointment to 60th Rifles
Thomas F. Boddington ...	16 Jan. 1855	.....	.....	.....	.....	Resigned Feb. 1855, on appointment to 41st Regiment
Nigel Gresley Rabbitts....	16 Jan. 1855	28 May 1855	11 Dec. 1865	.....	.....	Effective in 1874
Thomas Henry Sherwood	19 Jan. 1855	.....	.....	.....	.....	Resigned June, 1855, on appointment to 21st Regiment
E. F. B. Brooke.....	3 Mar. 1855	.....	.....	.....	.....	Resigned 1856, on appointment to Royal Engineers
Arthur Fitzgerald Home Daniel	3 Mar. 1855	1 June 1855	.....	.....	.....	Died Dec. 1860
Andrew Pepys Cockerell	27 Apr. 1855	11 Dec. 1855	9 Apr. 1867	.....	.....	Resigned April, 1869
Samuel Bomford.....	28 July 1855	3 Feb. 1856	14 Sept. 1867	.....	.....	Late 3rd Dragoon Guards; Instructor of Musketry 24 April, 1863; effective in 1874, honorary rank of Major
Thomas Hunt	21 Sept. 1855	10 June 1856	.....	.....	.....	Resigned Nov. 1858
Philip Herbert Elliot.....	22 Sept. 1855	.....	.....	.....	.....	Resigned August, 1857, on appointment to 3rd Dragoon Guards
Thomas Brereton	19 Oct. 1855	.....	.....	.....	.....	Never joined
Frank Sadlier Brereton...	7 Nov. 1855	.....	.....	.....	.....	Never joined
John Averley Lathbury...	11 Dec. 1855	12 Jan. 1858	.....	.....	.....	Resigned Sept. 1861
William Stevens Perry Keen	22 Jan. 1856	4 Mar. 1858	.....	.....	.....	Resigned Nov. 1858
Robert Baynes Reed	13 Feb. 1856	22 Nov. 1858	.....	.....	.....	Resigned May, 1859, on appointment to 12th Regiment
George J. C. Whittington	13 Feb. 1856	.....	.....	.....	.....	Resigned July, 1857, on appointment to Military Train
William Clark.....	30 July 1856	23 Nov. 1858	.....	.....	.....	Resigned Jan. 1860
W. S. M. Goodenough.....	13 Nov. 1857	23 May 1859	10 Apr. 1869	.....	.....	Resigned 1874

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Names.	Ensign.	Lieutenant.	Captain.	Major.	Lt.-Col.	Remarks.
Lorenzo George Lysons ...	13 Nov. 1857	.....	.....	.....	.....	Resigned April, 1858, on appointment to 23rd Regiment
George Woollcombe Sillifant	13 Nov. 1857	.....	.....	.....	.....	Resigned Jan. 1858
W. R. Gee	19 May 1859	30 June 1859	12 June 1869	.....	.....	Resigned May, 1871
William Wreford Brown...	23 May 1859	21 Jan. 1860	22 Mar. 1870	.....	.....	Effective in 1874
David Henry Parry.....	22 July 1859	25 May 1860	.....	.....	.....	Resigned Dec. 1860
W. H. Baker	.....	1 Mar. 1861	.....	.....	.....	Resigned July 1868
Matthew John Baillie ...	.....	6 Aug. 1861	.....	.....	.....	Died 1867
Robert Nigel Fitzhardinge Kingscote	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	C.B. M.P. for West Gloucestershire; appointed Honorary Colonel, 28 Jan. 1862. (See page 143.)
Sir Michael E. Hicks-Beach, bart.	.....	.....	16 Apr. 1862	.....	.....	Joined as Captain; M.P. for East Gloucestershire; Right Hon. and Chief Secretary for Ireland in 1874. Effective in 1874
Thomas William Chester Master	.....	16 Apr. 1862	10 May 1870	.....	.....	Effective in 1874
James Thomas Liscombe	.....	12 May 1862	.....	.....	.....	Resigned about 1865
John Wade Wait.....	.....	23 Oct. 1862	.....	.....	.....	Resigned about 1866
Gerald H. B. Young	.....	2 June 1863	.....	.....	.....	Never joined
Philip J. D. Wykeham ...	.....	15 Apr. 1864	6 May 1871	.....	.....	Resigned 1872
William Edwin Price.....	.....	9 Mar. 1866	.....	.....	.....	Late 36th Regiment; resigned 1867 on appointment to Royal South Gloucestershire Militia
Wilfred Joseph Cripps ...	.....	26 Mar. 1866	11 Mar. 1872	.....	.....	Effective in 1874
Albemarle Cator.....	.....	9 July 1867	....	.....	.....	Never joined
George Milward	.....	14 Sept. 1867	4 Dec. 1872	.....	.....	Resigned Feb. 1873
Owen Lloyd.....	.....	19 Feb. 1868	.....	....	.....	Resigned May, 1870, on appointment to 1st Warwick Militia
William Hunter Baillie...	.....	17 July 1868	.....	.....	.....	Late Captain 8th Regiment; resigned May, 1870

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James Tynte Agg-Gardner	.....	9 July 1868	.....	.....	.....	Resigned 1872
Frederick W. Platt.....	.....	23 Dec. 1870	14 Mar. 1874	.....	.. ..	Late 95th Regiment; effective in 1874
G. W. Hunt.....	.....	23 Dec. 1870	....	.....	.....	Late 4th Hussars; never joined
H. R. Dawes.....	.....	26 Dec. 1870	... .	....	.....	Never joined
A. C. W. Boyce	.....	31 Dec. 1870	.....	.....	.....	Resigned 1873, on appointment to 49th Regiment
A. C. Newland.....	.....	13 Jan. 1871	.....	.....	.....	Resigned 1872, on appointment to 28th Regiment
J. A. B. Wallington	.....	11 Apr. 1871	.....	.....	.....	Never joined
C. E. Tizard.....	.....	15 Apr. 1871	.....	.....	.....	Resigned 1874
Richard Hungerford Pollen	.....	20 Apr. 1871	18 Apr. 1874.	.....	.....	Effective in 1874
Arthur C. Chester Master	.....	8 May 1871	.....	.....	.....	Resigned 1874, on appointment to 5th Lancers *
George B. Jenkinson.....	.....	9 May 1871	.....	.....	.....	Effective in 1874
Ernest Gambier Parry.....	.....	11 Oct. 1871	.....	.....	.....	Effective in 1874
Hugh Owen	.....	12 Feb. 1872	.....	.....	.....	Resigned 1873
C. Napier Miles	.....	17 July 1872	.....	.....	.....	Effective in 1874
Algernon L. Elwes.....	.....	23 Nov. 1872	.....	.....	.....	Effective in 1874
A. H. T. Wadmore.....	.....	29 Mar. 1873	.....	.....	.....	Resigned 1874
F. T. Miles	.....	12 Apr. 1873	.....	.....	.....	Effective in 1874
	Sub-Lieuts.					
C. D. Wallington.....	3 July 1873	.....	.....	.....	.....	Has not yet joined
Eustace R. Maudsley	11 Feb. 1874	.....	.....	.....	.....	Resigned 1874, on appointment to 5th West York Militia
C. E. Coxwell-Rogers.....	18 Apr. 1874	....	.....	.....	.....	Effective in 1874
F. J. P. Butler.....	29 Apr. 1874	.....	.....	.....	.....	Effective in 1874

* Under the regulations of 1872, by which a certain number of commissions in the army are annually allotted to subaltern officers in the militia.

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Staff Officers from September, 1852.

Names.	Appointed.	Remarks.
ADJUTANTS.		
John Tobin	9 Apr. 1846	Late Captain 11th Regiment, retired with a pension, 1862
Charles Compton Abbott ...	28 Jan. 1862	Late Captain 47th Regiment, resigned 1869 on appointment as Adjutant Queen's Co. Militia
Henry Lumsden Battiscombe	29 July 1869	Late Captain 58th and 68th Regiments, and Adjutant Queen's Co. Militia
PAYMASTERS.		
George Cubitt	13 June 1855	Late 9th Regiment
Thomas Stevenson	5 Nov. 1857	Late Lieut.-Col. 30th Regiment
SURGEONS.		
Richard Filkin, M.D.	25 June 1808	Resigned 1852
Thomas Warner	7 Sept. 1852	Resigned 1855
S. Swaine Scriven, M.D.....	15 Mar. 1855	Effective in 1874
ASSISTANT SURGEONS.		
John Leete Eland	2 Apr. 1855	Removed from the strength of the Regiment, 1863
Edward Cripps.....	14 Feb. 1863	Effective in 1874
QUARTERMASTER.		
John Gorman	22 Nov. 1855	Effective in 1874

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APPENDIX B.

I.

From *Wriothesley's Chronicle*:—

"This yere, the 8th daye of Maye, beinge Thursday, all the citizens of London mustered in harnes afore the Kinge; they gathered and assembled togither at Myles Ende and Stepney, and soe there were sett in aray in three battells,* and so went in aray in at Algate and through Cornehill and Cheape to Westminster, and round about the Kinges parke at St. James, and soe over the feildes into Holborne and in at Newegate, and there brake of every man to his house. The battelles were thus ordered: fyrst gonners and 4 great gonnes drawne amongst them in cartes; then morris pykes: then bowe men; and then bill men; all the cheife householders of the city havinge coats of white damaske and white satten on theyr harnes richly besene, the constables in jornets † of white satten, and the aldermen rydinge in coates of blacke velvet with the crosse and sworde for the citye on their coates over theyr harnes, and theyr deputyes rydinge after them in coates of white damaske, every alderman having his standerd borne before him by one of the tallest housholders in his warde, the mayor ‡ rydinge in the middest of the middle battle in a coate of black velvet on his harnes, and his two hensmen § followinge him in coates of cloth of gold and blacke velvet, the officers goeinge about him in harnes, and the shirives followinge the ende of the middle battell with theyr officers, every alderman having foure footemen with bylles and jerkins of white satten, and all the rest of the city in coates of white cotton, which was a goodly sight to behoulde. My Lord Cromwell had amonge

A.D. 1539. The greate muster in London.

* Obsolete form of battalions.
† jerkins.
‡ Sir William Forman.
§ henchmen.

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1539. them one m̃. men of gunners, morris pykes, and bowemen, goeinge in jerkins after the socheners* fashion, and his gentlemen goeinge by, to sett them in array, in jerkins of buffe leather, dublets and hose of white satten and taffata sarsenet, which he did for the honour of the citye; and Mr. Gregory Crumwell,† and Mr. Richard Crumwell,‡ with Sir Christofer Norris, Master of the Ordinance, and other of the Kinges servauntes, followed the ende of the last battell, rydinge on goodly horses and well apparayled. The Kinges Grace stoode in the gatehouse of his pallace of Westminster to see them as they passed by, with the lordes and family of his household; and the Lord Chauncellor, Duke of Norfolke, Duke of Suffolke, and other lordes of the Kinges household, stoode at the Duke of Suffolkes place by Charinge Crosse to see them as they passed by. They were numbred by my Lord Chauncellour to the nomber of 16 thousand and a halfe and more,§ howbeit, a man would have thought they had bene above 30 thousand, they were so longe passinge by; they went five men of every weapon on a front ‖ together, and beganne to enter the citye on aray at Aldgate at 9 of the clocke, and by 12 they beganne to come before the Kinge, and yt was past 5 of the clocke or the ende passed before the Kinge; and, ere the last battell were entered Cornehill, the first battell were breakinge home at Newegate. There was never a goodlyer sight in London, nor the citizens better besene, then this muster was, which was a great rejoycinge to the Kinges Majestie, and a great honour to the citye."

* Probably for socagers, armed tenants.

† Gregory was son and heir apparent of Thomas Lord Crumwell.

‡ Crumwell's nephew, Richard Williams, assumed his uncle's name of Crumwell, and became in 1540 a Gentleman of the Privy Chamber.

§ This army, according to Maitland, consisted of three divisions of five thousand men each, exclusive of pioneers and attendants, being the greater part of the male population between the ages of 16 and 60.—See Maitland's London..

‖ Abreast.

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II.

From *Leland's* Itinerary, vol. iv., part 2, folio 170a:—

"The Castle of Sudeley is about halfe a Mile from *Winchecombe*. . . . . *Boteler* L. *Sudeley* made this Castle *à fundamentis*, and when it was made it had the Price of all the Buildinges in those Dayes. I read but of one L. *Sudeley* of the *Botelers*, and his Name was *Thomas*, as it appeareth in the Glasse Windowes at Winchecombe in St. *Peter's* Church. Therefore I take it that it was this *Thomas* that made the Castle. Yet did Mr. *Tracy* tell mee, that *Rafe Boteler* builded the Castle; but he shewed noe Authoritye, why. Indeed *Thomas* had a sonne called *Rafe*, sett as yongest in order in the Glasse Windowes in St. Peter's Church.

The L. *Sudeley* that builded the Castle was a famous Man of Warre in K. *H.* 5. and K. *H.* 6. Dayes, and was an Admirall (as I have heard) on Sea; whereupon it was supposed, and spoken, that it was partly builded *ex spoliis Gallorum;* and some speake of a Towre in it called *Potmare's Towre*, that it should be made of a Ransome of his.

One thinge was to be noted in this Castle, that part of the Windowes of it were glased with Berall. There had been a Manour Place at *Sudeley* before the building of the Castle, and the plott is yet seen in *Sudeley Parke* where it stoode.

K. *E.* 4. bore noe good Will to the L. *Sudeley*, as a man suspected to be in heart K. *H.* 6. his Man; whereupon by Complaints he was attached, and going up to *London* he looked from the Hill to *Sudeley*, and sayd, Sudeley *Castle thou art a Traytor, not I.* After he made an honest Declaration, and sould his Castle of Sudeley to K. *E.* 4.

Afterward K. *H.* 7. gave this Castle to his Uncle Jasper D. of *Bedford*, or permitted him to have the use of it.

Now it goeth to ruine, more pittye."

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